

KAIDI KRIISA

Multilingual Practices in the Early Modern
Academia Dorpatensis (1632–1710)



DISSERTATIONES STUDIORUM GRAECORUM ET LATINORUM
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Press

Department of Classical Studies, College of Foreign Languages and Cultures,
University of Tartu

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	13
INTRODUCTION	15
Interdisciplinary Research Field and Terminology	17
Hypothesis, Aims, and the Methods of the Dissertation	31
Corpus and Categories of the Research Material	33
Structure of the Dissertation	38
1. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN LEGISLATIVE TEXTS FROM <i>ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS</i>	41
1.1. Overview of the corpus of mono- and multilingual legislative texts	41
1.2. Monolingual legislative texts	45
1.2.1. Latin Foundation charter (<i>Diploma Foundationis</i>) from 30 June 1632, and its multilingual alternation by Friedrich Menius from 1635	45
1.2.2. Constitutions	49
1.3. Multilingual legislative texts	50
1.3.1. Royal privileges	50
1.3.2. Regulations and decrees	51
1.3.3. The frequency and characteristics of multilingual practices in academic legislative text-units	52
1.3.4. Case study: multilingual practices in the academic regulation by Johan Skytte in 1633	53
1.3.4.1. Length, frequency, quantity and distribution of languages	53
1.3.4.2. Conventionalised intrasentential code-switching: different formulae and quotes as the most common examples of multilingual practices	56
1.4. Conclusion	58
2. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS FROM <i>ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS</i>	60
2.1. Overview of mono- and multilingual text corpus	60
2.2. Monolingual administrative documents	64
2.2.1. Monolingual Consistory protocols	65
2.2.2. Monolingual judicial documents	66
2.2.3. Monolingual <i>Matricula</i> : student registers and <i>Matricula</i> of deposition	66
2.2.4. Monolingual official ordinances and patents	67
2.2.5. Monolingual protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy	68
2.3. Multilingual administrative documents	69
2.3.1. Multilingual Consistory protocols	69
2.3.1.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual Consistory protocols	69

2.3.1.2. Case study: a Consistory protocol from 1638 as an evidence of frequent multilingual practices in the everyday administration of the Academy	70
2.3.2. Multilingual judicial documents	74
2.3.3. Multilingual official ordinances and patents	75
2.3.3.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual official ordinances and patents	75
2.3.3.2. Case study: multilingual ordinance by Eric Dahlberg (1698) as an example of formulaic intrasentential code-switching	76
2.3.4. Multilingual protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy	79
2.4. Conclusion	80
3. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS FROM <i>ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS</i>	82
3.1. Overview of mono- and multilingual text corpus	82
3.2. Monolingual text-units among the financial documents	87
3.2.1. Monolingual cashbook	88
3.2.2. Monolingual analyses of trial balance	88
3.2.3. Monolingual lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries ...	89
3.2.4. Monolingual cash orders for receiving scholarships and salaries	89
3.2.5. Monolingual different receipts	90
3.3. Multilingual financial documents	91
3.3.1. Multilingual cashbooks	91
3.3.1.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual cashbooks	91
3.3.1.2. Case study: accounting in <i>Academia Gustaviana</i> – an example of a multilingual cashbook from 1645–1646	92
3.3.2. Multilingual trial balance	96
3.3.3. Multilingual analyses of trial balance	97
3.3.4. Multilingual lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries	98
3.3.5. Multilingual cash orders of receiving scholarships and salaries	99
3.3.6. Multilingual different receipts	100
3.3.6.1. Case study: multilingual summary receipt from 1707 as an exceptional example of financial documents from the <i>Academia Dorpatensis</i>	100
3.4. Conclusion	103
4. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN INSTRUCTIONAL TEXTS FROM <i>ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS</i>	104
4.1. Overview of the mono- and multilingual instructional text corpus...	104
4.2. Monolingual instructional texts	114
4.2.1. Catalogues of Lectures	115

4.3. Multilingual instructional and scientific texts	118
4.3.1. Academic occasional poetry	119
4.3.1.1. Quantity and linguistic division of occasional poetry from Dorpat	120
4.3.1.2. Sub-genres, frequency, length and proportions of languages used in the multilingual poems	123
4.3.1.3. Frequency and places of code-switches in the multilingual occasional poems	126
4.3.1.4. Intersentential code-switching: the influence of the usage of metres and <i>decorum</i> of academic traditions to multilingual practices	128
4.3.1.5. Case study: insertions of non-formulaic text-units as the central multilingual practice in an occasional poem written by Rudolphus Strauch in 1639	129
4.3.2. Student style exercises (<i>progymnasmata</i>) and their sub- genres	133
4.3.2.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of style exercises	134
4.3.2.2. Congruent lexicalization and formulaic linguistic performance in intrasentential code-switching: a case study of a style exercise from 1707 written by Adolphus Florianus Sigismundi and Fransiscus Henricus Londicer	135
4.3.3. Textbooks	140
4.3.3.1. The quantity, structure and linguistic performance of textbooks	141
4.3.3.2. Case study: intrasentential non-formulaic code- switching in Sueno Tiliander's grammar book from 1699	142
4.3.4. Academic disputations, dissertations and orations	148
4.3.4.1. The quantity, length, structure and linguistic division of disputations, dissertations and orations	150
4.3.4.2. The frequency and length of segments containing multilingual practices in disputations, dissertations and orations	153
4.3.4.3. Languages and combinations of languages in vernacular interpolations	155
4.3.4.4. Comments on the vernacular segments – formulaic words and phrases in disputations, dissertations and orations as supporting elements of intrasentential code-switching	162
4.3.4.4.1. The formulaic phrases commenting on Swedish segments.....	163
4.3.4.4.2. Formulaic phrases commenting on German segments	168

4.3.4.4.3. The main characteristics of formulaic phrases commenting on other minority languages	169
4.3.4.4.4. The main characteristics of formulaic phrases commenting on different vernacular combinations	170
4.3.4.5. A thematical-formal typology of code-switching and the Academy's most common linguistic preferences by faculty	172
4.3.4.5.1. The Academy's most common linguistic preferences by faculty	172
4.3.4.5.2. The main types of vernacular segments used for insertion in Latin dissertations, disputations and orations	176
4.4. Conclusion	183
5. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN CEREMONIAL AND FESTIVE TEXTS FROM THE <i>ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS</i>	185
5.1. Overview of mono- and multilingual ceremonial and festive text corpus	185
5.2. Monolingual ceremonial and festive texts	189
5.2.1. Monolingual inaugural speech	189
5.2.2. Monolingual programmes, invitations and proclamations	190
5.2.3. Monolingual ceremonial orations	190
5.2.4. Monolingual occasional poems	191
5.3. Multilingual ceremonial and festive text-units	193
5.3.1. Multilingual descriptions of <i>Actus inauguralis</i>	193
5.3.2. Multilingual sermons	195
5.3.2.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual sermons	195
5.3.2.2. Case study: an inaugural sermon from 1632 written by Ludwig Dunte as an example of a multilingual programme for the Academy	196
5.3.3. Multilingual occasional poems	203
5.3.3.1. The quantity, linguistic division and structure of multilingual occasional poems	203
5.3.3.2. Case study: a bilingual <i>epithalamium</i> written by Olaus Georgii Salenius from 1643 as an example of intersentential code-switching	205
5.4. Conclusion	207
6. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN OFFICIAL AND PERSONAL COMMUNICATION FROM THE <i>ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS</i>	209
6.1. Overview of the mono- and multilingual text corpus	209
6.2. Monolingual text-units of official and personal communications.....	214
6.2.1. Monolingual official and personal letters	215

6.2.2. Monolingual scholarship applications	216
6.2.3. Monolingual entries in <i>alba amicorum</i>	219
6.3. Multilingual text-units of official and personal communication	220
6.3.1. Multilingual official and personal letters	221
6.3.1.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual letters	221
6.3.1.2. A comparative case study: typology, structure, length and frequency of code-switching in two multilingual letters from 1655 and 1692	223
6.3.1.2.1. Intrasentential code-switching and congruent lexicalization as characteristics of formulaic linguistic performance in the letters from Johannes Erics Stiernstråle 1655 and the Consistory of the Academy 1692	227
6.3.2. Multilingual scholarship applications	232
6.3.2.1. Quantity, content, structure, length and linguistic performance of multilingual scholarship applications	232
6.3.2.2. A comparative case study: length, structure and frequency of code-switching in the multilingual scholarship applications by Petrus Wilhelm Räschau 1693 and Elias Swedmarck 1696	234
6.3.2.2.1. Intrasentential code-switching, congruent lexicalisation and morphological borrowings in the formulaic allocutions to the members of the Academy and in the usage of verbs	238
6.3.3. Multilingual entries in <i>alba amicorum</i> – inter- and intra- sentential code-switching in bi- to sextalingual entries	241
6.3.3.1. Quantity, structure, and linguistic performance of multilingual entries in <i>alba amicorum</i>	241
6.3.3.2. A comparative case study: structure, characteristics and frequency of code-switching in the multilingual entries in the <i>alba amicorum</i> from Friedrich Menius 1633 and Christophorus Donnerhaak 1701	241
6.3.3.2.1. Inter- and intrasentential code-switching and alternations as the main practices used in multilingual entries to <i>alba amicorum</i>	245
6.4. Conclusion	248

SUMMARY: Multilingual Practices in the Early Modern <i>Academia</i> <i>Dorpatensis</i> (1632–1710)	250
SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN: Mitmekeelsuspraktikad varauusaegses Tartu ülikoolis (1632–1710)	258
REFERENCES	266
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	288
CURRICULUM VITAE	290
ELULOOKIRJELDUS	292

ABBREVIATIONS

AG	<i>Academia Gustaviana</i> (1632–1656)
AGC	<i>Academia Gustavo-Carolina</i> (1690–1710)
AGCD	<i>Academia Gustavo-Carolina in Dorpato</i> (1690–1699)
AGCP	<i>Academia Gustavo-Carolina in Pernau</i> (1699–1710)
ATB	Analysis of trial balance
CB	Cashbook
Cf.	Confer
ConsL1	The Constitution from the <i>Academia Gustaviana</i> period written in Latin
ConsL2	The Constitution from the <i>Academia Gustavo-Carolina</i> period written in Latin
ConsS1	The translation of the constitution from the <i>Academia Gustavo-Carolina</i> period into Swedish
CORSS	Cash orders of receiving scholarships and salaries
CS	Code-switching
DE	German
DISP	Disputation
DISS	Dissertation
DR	Different receipts
EL	Embedded language
ES	Spanish
EST	Estonian
Etc	Et cetera
FI	Finnish
FL	Frame language (synonym to ML)
FR	French
G	Gratulation
GR	Greek
HBR	Hebrew
Incl.	Inclusive
INTRO	Introductory part
ISO 639	Standardized nomenclature used to classify languages
IT	Italian
KB	National Library of Sweden (Kungliga Biblioteket)
LA	Latin
LPSS	Lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries
LV	Latvian
MS	Master's thesis
ML	Matrix language (synonym to FL)
MRBD	Tartu University Library Collections of the Manuscripts and Rare Books Department
NDS	Low German (Niederdeutsch)

NL	Dutch
No	Number
Nt	Näiteks
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OR	Oration
P	Propempticon
p.	Page
pp.	pages
PARA-DISS	Paratext of dissertation
PARA-DISP	Paratext of disputation
PL	Polish
RA	Sweden National Archives in Stockholm (Riksarkivet)
RegCar1	King Charles XI's regulation from 1694
RegCar2	King Charles XII's regulation from 1702
RegCr1	Queen Regnant Chrstina's regulation from 1640
RegCr2	Queen Regnant Christina's regulation from 1640
RegJS	Johann Skytte's regulation from 1633
Resp.	Respectively
RU	Russian
SE	Swedish
Scil.	<i>Scilicet</i>
St	See tähendab
Transl.	Translation
TB	Trial balance
UUB	Uppsala University Library (<i>Carolina Rediviva</i>)
VER	Vernacular
Vol.	Volume

INTRODUCTION

Latin, which in its Classical period has been considered one of the most influential languages in the world, had held a stronghold in almost each and every sphere of the academic world since the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period, being intimately involved in the life of an educated man. The use of *lingua latina* over the course of centuries was increasingly a sign of the erudition and wisdom of a person, and it was customary that both the language of communication and of the learning of intellectuals were, to a great extent, Latin.

The tradition of using Latin as the language of higher education in all forms of instruction dates back centuries to the time when the first European universities¹ – starting with the Universities of Bologna and Paris from the beginning and middle of the 12th century (i.e. from 1119 and 1150, respectively) – were founded. The growing necessity for more learned minds in society resulted in founding a number of other universities across Europe within the following centuries, including the establishment of the University of Dorpat (now Tartu) in 1632.²

Regardless of the idea that Latin has been one of the most important languages in the academe of European history, it has also been used alongside others, that is, vernacular languages as an important component of multilingual societies all over Europe (including in Dorpat, which was a part of Northern Livonia during the early modern times).

The phenomenon of multilingualism itself is not a new field of research either, but as it has been widespread in societies from antiquity; for example, in the Roman Empire (cf. more in Adams 2003) and even before, it is also a field of study with growing importance.

¹ The first universities founded were not yet called *universitas* (from which the word *university* comes) but *studium generale* instead (cf. H. Rashdall 2010: 17; K. W. Alexander and K. Alexander 2011: 26–27).

² The idea of founding a University in a desolated Northern Livonian town – Dorpat – was rather remarkable due to its poor legal and economic status. In the first half of the 17th century Dorpat was a small provincial town less important than Riga that was considered the metropolis of that time, neither was Reval (Tallinn) nor Narva which by the mid-17th century were economically fully developed. One of the vantage points in favouring Dorpat to Riga and to all the other towns, however, was its location on the frontier of Estonia and Livonia due to which it was more easily accessible to local people, while Riga, on the other hand, was located on the Swedish-Polish border that was a rather unstable and insecure region. In addition, in 1583 a Jesuit grammar school (denominated as *Gymnasium Dorpatense* from 1585 onwards) was established in Dorpat by Stephen Báthory the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania that existed until 1601 during its first period, and after was re-opened in 1611 it existed until 1625. The Jesuit Gymnasium was considered a precursor of the succeeding Gymnasium of Dorpat established in 1630, that, in turn, was followed by establishing the University of Dorpat a couple of years later in 1632 (cf. Siilivask 1985: 18–22; Hiio and Piirimäe 2007: 22–23).

Given that multilingualism was rather common in the early modern societies (cf. Tuley 2016: 177–178)³, and that the students of the early modern period were a part of those societies, one might assume that the practice of using more than one language might have existed in the Universities, even in instruction (which was considered to be Latin-based). Therefore, the exhaustive study of multilingual practices in one of the early modern European universities might reveal rather interesting outcomes in terms of the genuine linguistic performance of the professors and students as evident in texts. Thence comes the title of the present thesis – *Multilingual Practices in the Early Modern Academia Dorpatensis (1632–1710)* – in which this idea is going to be discussed.⁴

In order to provide an answer to this assumption, I already started to study some materials from the early modern University of Dorpat in my bachelor's thesis, which was entitled “Ekfraas *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* retoorikaharjutustes: neli üliõpilastööd teemal *Character ebriosi*” (*Ekphrasis in the Academia Gustavo-Carolina's rhetorical exercises: four students' exercises on the topic of the Character ebriosi*). As the corpus of the thesis was rather small, comprising only four short handwritten texts composed exclusively in Latin, it did not reveal much about the overall linguistic performance of the students, despite their Latin usage. Therefore, I took the next step with my master's thesis entitled “*Lingua Latina sive sermo vernaculus noster? Ladina keele ja rahvuskeelte suhe Academia Gustaviana aegsetes dissertatsioonides ja oratsioonides*” (*Lingua Latina sive sermo vernaculus noster? The relation of Latin and vernacular languages in the dissertations and orations of the Academia Gustaviana (1632–1656)*) in which I examined the topic in greater detail, expanded both the genre and the corpus of the early modern academic texts, and studied academic dissertations and disputations printed in the first period of the early modern University of Dorpat – *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656). The analysis I performed there revealed that other (i.e. vernacular) languages were quite often used alongside Latin, and switching between Latin and some vernaculars within a sentence or longer passage was used rather frequently.

In both of those theses, I used more traditional methods and descriptive analysis, without providing any exhaustive examination of different theoretical

³ See more about multilingualism in both medieval and early modern times in Albrecht Classen (ed.), 2016, *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age. Communication and miscommunication in the Premodern World*. In: *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture* 17. See especially the article written by K. A. Tuley, 2016, *Multilingualism and Power in the Latin East*, pp. 177–206.

⁴ During the early modern period (i.e. from the Renaissance to the French Revolution, but in the context of the present thesis roughly during the 17th century) the official Latinized name of the University of Dorpat was *Academia Dorpatensis*. This official name collocated two periods of the 17th century University of Dorpat – the first was called *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656), and the second *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690–1710), abbreviated as AG and AGC, respectively. When referring to the latter period, however, the abbreviations AGCD and AGCP will also be used in order to define the period in which the University was located in Dorpat (Tartu), i.e. 1690–1699, and when in Pernau (Pärnu), i.e. 1699–1710.

strategies used when studying multilingual texts, and thus there remained a gap in the knowledge of how exactly the languages were used. As after writing those theses, I became more and more fascinated with the topic of multilingual practices in the academic texts of the early modern University of Dorpat, I wanted to go further, and to study both the manuscripts as well as the printed texts, and to compare their linguistic performances. Consequently, for me, the next and the biggest logical step from there was to gather all the extant academic data of the *Academia Dorpatensis* to gain a general idea of how many texts really are preserved, provide a theoretical background with equivalent terminology, and to find out in which academic spheres Latin was used predominantly and in which its dominant role was step-by-step substituted by vernaculars.

Interdisciplinary Research Field and Terminology

Any research of multilingual practices in the early modern universities combines the methods and results of many different disciplines, and consequently must be an **interdisciplinary study**. Therefore, the subject field of the present study – *multilingual practices in the early modern Academia Dorpatensis (1632–1656)* – is a topic which comprises at least four separate disciplines: the **history of universities** (here *Academia Dorpatensis*), the **history of Latin** (here to contextualize the usage of Latin as the central language of the *Academia Dorpatensis*), **Neo-Latin studies** (i.e. early modern Latin) and **historical sociolinguistics** (i.e. multilingual practices). However, the same topic could be studied in the future from the perspective of many other disciplines as well, thus the given distinction is not the only one possible.

From the most expanded disquisition, the present thesis belongs with studies concentrating on the **history of universities**, especially in terms of the material it uses – the academic written heritage of one of the early modern universities (i.e. *Academia Dorpatensis*).

The history of the European universities, including the University of Dorpat, has been of research interest to many scholars for centuries covering the data from the establishment of the first European universities until the present day.⁵ These treatises and handbooks provide substantial systematic background information on all of the fields and events of academic life, including some of the texts produced either by the professors or students, such as academic dissertations, disputations and orations (cf. Hammerstein 1995). Therefore, all of the

⁵ Cf. (1) H. De Rydder-Symoens, 1994. *A history of the University in Europe. Volume I. Universities in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.; (2) N. Hammerstein (ed.), 1995. *Universitäten und Aufklärung*. Göttingen: Wallsten Verlag; (3) W. Rüegg (ed.), 1996. *A history of the University in Europe. Volume II. Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.; (4) M. Feingold (ed.), 2006. *History of Universities*, vol. 19, 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

factual and contextualizing material, including the knowledge about the relevant archives, has been taken from this discipline.

In terms of the present thesis, four of the most compendious historiographical treatises describing almost all aspects of the 17th century University of Dorpat, hence providing us with essential background information, are the academic monographs written by **Karl Inno** in 1972 (*Tartu University in Estonia*), **Helmut Piirimäe** in 1982 (*Tartu Ülikooli ajalugu I, 1632–1798*), **Karl Siilivask** in 1985 (*History of Tartu University 1632–1982*), and a more recent treatise edited by **Toomas Hiio and Helmut Piirimäe** in 2007 (*Universitas Tartuenssis 1632–2007*).⁶ These treatises mainly broaden our knowledge about academic life, including how to periodize the historical developments of the early modern University of Dorpat, but not one of them disserts nor hardly ever mentions the actual linguistic performance of the academy as a whole, except for only occasionally mentioning the usage of Latin.⁷

Hence, in order to get to know the history of the *Academia Gustaviana* and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* period in detail, as well as to find out whether historical university writings comprise also some texts written in languages other than Latin, **source publications** of some of the academic texts that have already been published are extremely helpful. The most informative ones are the Consistory protocols from the *Academia Gustaviana* period published and translated by **Arvo Tering** in 1978 and 1984. These protocols show the parallel use of Latin and some vernaculars (German and Swedish, respectively) confirming the idea that, first of all, languages other than Latin were in fact accepted in the academy, and secondly, that language-mixing was a rather conventional practice in some of the institutions of the early modern University of Dorpat.

Other publications of 17th century academic material that simplify the present work with source material, are the first statutes of the *Academia Gustaviana* (*Constitutiones*) translated and commented on by **Kristi Sak** (now Viiding) in 1997, the description of the University's opening ceremony from 1632 (cf. Sak 1997b), the description of the opening ceremony of the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* in Pernau 1699 (cf. Viiding 1999), and some source publications without translation and thorough commentary published by **Juhan Vasar**

⁶ See a number of articles about the University of Dorpat in the series of *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi* (from 1975 onwards). In addition, see the series of *The Estonian Historical Journal (Ajalooline Ajakiri)*, especially No. 3/4 from 2010: *The University of Tartu in the early modern academic world = Tartu Ülikool varauusaja akadeemilises maailmas* (in: Leppik, Lea, Piirimäe, Pärtel (eds.), *Ajalooline Ajakiri*).

⁷ Besides emphasizing Latin to be the dominant language of the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* in all of its spheres, K. Inno also mentions the usage of some vernaculars (i.e. Swedish and German) in teaching during the AGC period (1972: 41). However, it is impossible to find out to what extent exactly the vernaculars were used in teaching, as not a single lecture note from neither professors nor students of the 17th century University of Dorpat is extant.

in 1932 that cover different subject fields at the university. In addition, the first privileges of the university were published by **Raik-Hiio Mikelsaar** in 2005.

The most recent source publications include an anthology covering some of the occasional poetry written in 17th century Dorpat, compiled by **Kristi Viiding, Jana Orion** and **Janika Päll** in 2007,⁸ and a whole *album amicorum* by a student, edited, translated and commented on by **Katre Kaju** in 2011.⁹ In addition, a dissertation by **Kristi Viiding** from 2002 describes the situation of Latin on the basis of certain types of occasional poems, such as farewell-poems, mentioning also the vernacular-written poems.¹⁰

One of the most compendious source publications comprising bibliographical data about almost all the extant printed dissertations, disputations, orations, textbooks, official regulations and patents as well as printed occasional poems and programmes for festivities from the 17th century University of Dorpat, is **Ene-Lille Jaanson's** edited bibliography from 2000 about the University of Dorpat's print shop through 1632–1710. It is a voluminous publication provided also with a lengthy foreword including the history of the early modern printed academic texts from the perspective of the production of the printing shop of *Academia Dorpatensis*.¹¹

All of those existing studies and publications about the universities of the early modern period,¹² including the ones describing the *Academia Dorpatensis*,

⁸ Cf. K. Viiding, J. Orion, J. Päll (eds.), 2007. *O Dorpat, urbs addictissimis musis ...: valik 17. sajandi Tartu juhuluulet*. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus. The texts for the anthology were chosen from the compendious online-corpus of the occasional poetry written between 1632–1656 and edited by Jana Orion and Kristi Viiding that provides us with a critical apparatus to the poems: <https://www.ut.ee/klaskik/neolatina/>.

⁹ Cf. Katre Kaju, 2011. *Vive hodie, cras vivere serum est: humanistlik-kristlik haridustraditsioon ja Riia pastori Adam Andreae reisiaalbum (1696–1702)*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

¹⁰ Cf. K. Viiding, 2002. *Die Dichtung neulateinischer Propemptika an der Academia Gustaviana (Dorpatensis) in den Jahren 1632–1656 (Dissertationes studiorum Graecorum et Latinorum Universitas Tartuensis, 1)*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

¹¹ Cf. E.-L. Jaanson, 2000. *Tartu Ülikooli trükikoda 1632–1710: ajalugu ja trükiste bibliograafia = Druckerei der Universität Dorpat 1632–1710: Geschichte und Bibliographie der Druckschriften*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu.

¹² The other possible institutions researched in modern studies, are “city” and “court”. The research of multilinguality in the early modern city (“Stadt Sprachenforschung”) is especially active in Germany, where attention was mainly focused on more linguistic studies from the medieval times to the early modern period, comprising treatises under the umbrella term “Stadt Sprachenforschung”. In most of those studies language change is referred to as (a) linguistic transition from Latin to Low German in the first periods, and as (b) transition from Low German to High German as the main schemes for language change, i.e. transitions inside one language – German – between its different forms, while excluding all the other language variables as matters of code-switching.

See more about such linguistic performance in the articles from the following collection: Stephan Elspaß and Michaela Negele, eds., 2011. *Sprachvariation und Sprachwandel in der Stadt der Frühen Neuzeit*. [Beiträge zur 26. Tagung des Internationalen Arbeitskreises “Historische Sprachenforschung”, der am 5. und 6. Oktober 2009 an der Universität Augsburg stattfand]. Heidelberg: Winter.: (1) Filatkina, Natalia, 2011. Variation im Bereich der

provide exhaustive factual background data about how the early modern universities functioned, providing also important information about almost every field of the academe. Material that has been studied about the *Academia Dorpatensis*, on the other hand, also deepens our knowledge about the texts produced, their content and, to some extent, the languages used.¹³

Yet, according to the historians of the early modern universities, hardly anything analytical has been written about the categorization of academic texts into domains (scil. text types, see pages 35–39)¹⁴, not to mention the universities' genuine linguistic performance, either in the academic data of other European universities or the *Academia Dorpatensis* in each and every sphere of the academe.¹⁵

formelhaften Wendungen am Beispiel der Luxemburger Rechnungsbücher (1388–1500), pp. 79–95; (2) Schöder, Konrad; Walter, Judith, 2011. Die Stadt als Ort europäischer Mehrsprachigkeit: Erwerb und Vermittlung moderner Fremdsprache in Augsburg im Zeitalter der Frühen Neuzeit, pp. 117–162. Additionally see also these articles: (3) Cherubim, Dieter, 1987. *Mehrsprachigkeit in der Stadt der frühen Neuzeit. Am Beispiel Braunschweigs und Hermann Botes*. In: Schöttker/Wunderlich: Herman Bote. Wiesbaden, 97–118.; and (4) Helmut Glück, 2013. *Mehrsprachigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit: die Reichsstädte Augsburg und Nürnberg vom 15. bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

¹³ For example, as a counterweight to some of the multilingual indicators of academic linguistic performance, Jürgen Beyer and Janika Päll have thoroughly studied a number of the 17th century academic texts of *Academia Dorpatensis* in terms of just a single language in a more societal or academic sense. These studies clearly show the linguistic situation from a more bounded point of view, i.e. not acknowledging so much the other, often parallelly used languages and, thus the multilingual linguistic situation, but concentrating on just one language instead. For instance, Low German, Swedish and Russian are studied in Beyer's works, and ancient Greek in Päll's treatises.

¹⁴ One exception for the early modern University of Tartu, for instance, is Jaanson's bibliography that actually provides a primary categorization of printed academic texts of the early modern University of Dorpat at the catalogue level. She divides the academic printed texts into the following groups: academic publications (such as dissertations and academic orations), documents regulating the university's work (e.g. invitations, announcements, lecture catalogues), occasional imprints (such as occasional poetry), textbooks and vocabularies (including monographs, brochures), sermons, regulations and patents (cf. Jaanson 2000: 38). Yet, despite providing such a categorization, she does not give any explanations of the basis for such a distribution of academic texts, and thus the knowledge of how to categorize the remaining academic texts, including manuscripts, is still rather deficient.

The early modern printed academic texts of the other European universities have, almost at the same level, been categorized before, i.e. also during the 16th century. For example, according to the *Scripta in Academia Rostochiensi pvblice proposita, ab Anno Christi 1560 vsq[ue] ad Octobrem anni 1563, & inde ad initium anni 1567 partes dvae, cvm indice. Rostochii excvdebat Iacobvs Transylvanvs. Anno M. D. LXVII.*, the printed texts in the early modern University of Rostock were divided into the following major groups: (1) *De festis academicis*, (2) *De lectionibus et interpretationes auctorum*, (3) *Pertinentia ad gubernationem academicam* – all which are in fact represented in the academic data of *Academia Dorpatensis* as well.

¹⁵ One of the exceptions is the history of the University of Freiburg, where linguistic performance has been studied to some extent. However, the disquisition provided there, does not concentrate on the detailed analysis of the linguistic performance in all of the academic

Therefore, from the linguistic point of view, our picture of the history of the 17th century University of Dorpat, especially its actual linguistic performance in preserved academic data, is still deficient and needs in-depth study using a methodologically clear approach.

As the central language of the early modern universities all over Europe, including *Academia Dorpatensis*, was Latin, the research field of the **history of Latin** seems to be an adjustable discipline in order to find the tools and methods for the research into how and on which occasions Latin was used as a component of multilingualism.

Out of the existing monographs debating the role of Latin throughout the centuries, **Françoise Waquet** was one of the first authors who directed readers' attention to the more regional use of Latin in connection with other local or vernacular languages in various European countries.¹⁶ Her treatise was followed

texts, but on giving the overall idea of the medieval and early modern universities being rather opened to other languages but at texts, but on giving the overall idea of the medieval and early modern universities being rather open to other languages but also to Latin. For more, see Jürgen Schiewe 1996. *Sprachenwechsel-Funktionswandel-Austausch der Denks-tile. Die Universität Freiburg zwischen Latein und Deutsch*.

In addition, scholars from the University of Göteborg, Sweden, for example, have studied selectively some of the 18th century dissertations and disputations from the perspective of the usage of Latin, also mentioning some cases of languages being mixed (i.e. mixing Latin with vernaculars as rather common practice) within written works. The results of the compendious analysis of this material, published by M. Benner and E. Tengström, 1977 (*On the Interpretations of Learned Neo-Latin. An Explorative Study Based on some Texts of Sweden*) can be considered one of the seminal works in the research of language mixing in historical academic material.

On the other hand, from a wider scale of cultural history, Peter Burke represents a different approach to the linguistic performance of the early modern times. He, for instance, studied quite thoroughly the relations between different early modern European communities and the languages used in them, also alluding occasionally to the linguistic situation between Latin and vernaculars. His approach is not as much linguistic (i.e. studying thoroughly multilingual practices such as code-switching), but rather cultural-historical, providing a completely different methodical outlook (cf. Burke 2004, ch. 5). This does provide us foremost with the idea of how the different communities functioned in the early modern times, mentioning rather sporadically the use of Latin as an important language used parallelly with other vernaculars. In addition, he mentions the usage of vernaculars in German-speaking European universities in the early modern times, claiming that bringing vernaculars to university studies was more efficient there than in any other part of Europe (cf. *Ibidem* 17).

At a more regional level, an article by Katre Kaju from 2006 (*Keelevalikust Tartu Aca-demia Gustaviana aegses pulmaluules (1632–1656)*) describes the linguistic performance of some of the occasional poems written during the AG period of the *Academia Dorpatensis*. In the article the author points out the languages and language combinations used in the poems, but how the interaction between different languages actually takes place, remains un-mentioned.

¹⁶ Cf. Françoise Waquet. 2002. *Latin: Or the Empire of the Sign*. London: Verso (original French-version was published in 1998 in Paris, and is entitled as *Le latin, ou L'empire d'un signe (XVIe–XXe siècle)*). Hereinafter the English translation from 2002 will be used).

by **Tore Janson's** *A natural history of Latin*,¹⁷ which concentrates on showing how the modern languages' vocabulary has evolved from Latin while providing the reader with a number of examples about the use of this *lingua franca* in the university context. In addition, **Joseph B. Solodow** and **Wilfred Stroh** have both focused on showing the viability of Latin also through its contact with a number of modern languages.¹⁸

Jürgen Leonhardt's discussion, on the other hand, of Latin from the perspective of one of the most influential and thus prestigious world languages, directs the reader to the disquisition of micro- and macro histories of a language.¹⁹ He suggests that before studying the all-encompassing history of Latin, to study it more narrowly, concentrating more on the supra-regional and institutional linguistic preferences.

Even so, the number of treatises systematically dissenting to the last period in the history of Latin in its whole development is still rather small, especially in comparison to Classical and Medieval Latin linguistic studies (cf. Harrington 1997, Clackson 2011). These discussions that do exist do not provide any methodological approach, except for the descriptive one, for how to study multilingualism in different periods in the history of Latin.

As the studies under this discipline provide a substantial amount of works studying the history of Latin at both the university as well as societal level, they still lack methodological standpoints for how to study historical academic texts in which Latin is used alongside other languages, where a different approach that might provide a solution, is also needed.

A discipline that might fill the gap in the research of languages (including the interaction of languages) in the early modern universities is **Neo-Latin studies** – a research field that “*embraces a massive corpus of sources produced in a large variety of different geographical, political, and cultural contexts during a period of more than 700 hundred years*” (cf. Verbeke 2014: 907) – roughly from the period of 1300–1800.

Neo-Latin studies as a separate discipline has been the interest of scholars from the 1970s onwards, especially after **Joseph IJsewijn** published the conceptual and exhaustive treatise of the field, entitled as *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (1977), which was about over a decade later entirely rewritten, extended and published in two separate revised editions in 1990 and 1998, with the help

¹⁷ Cf. Tore Janson, 2007. *A Natural History of Latin*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Original Swedish-version was published in 2002 in Stockholm, and is entitled as *Latin Kulturen, historien, språket*. Hereinafter the English translation from 2007 will be used).

¹⁸ Cf. Joseph B. Solodow, 2010. *Latin Alive. The Survival of Latin in English and the Romance Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and Wilfried Stroh, 2011. *Latein ist Tot. Es lebe Latein!*, Berlin: List.

¹⁹ Cf. Jürgen Leonhardt, 2013. *Latin: Story of a World Language*, Cambridge, MA; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press (original was published in 2009, Munich, in German, and is entitled *Latein. Geschichte einer Weltsprache*. Hereinafter the English translation from 2013 will be used).

of **Dirk Sacré**.²⁰ However, in those first studies multilingualism and the usage of Latin with other languages was not the main focus, it was still not accepted as a separate research field nor the logical outcome of the linguistic performance of early modern societies. Regardless of the numerous thorough studies about the usage of Latin in different literary spheres, amongst which the academic sphere is only occasionally mentioned, hardly anything systematic was written about the co-occurrence of Latin and vernaculars.²¹

The turning point in the studies came in the beginning of the 2000s (in 2001) with **Hans Helander's** revolutionary treatise in which he debates the importance of linguistic studies with a standpoint on Neo-Latin studies, but acknowledging also the importance of the synchronic perspective; that is, to study the Neo-Latin authors always in comparison to other authors (2001: 27–39).²²

In recent years the most significant and all-encompassing treatises about the Neo-Latin studies are *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* from 2014 published in two volumes, *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin* from 2015, and *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature* from 2017. These are substantial voluminous handbooks comprising a number of Neo-Latin topics, such as language and education (incl. universities), literature, arts, philosophy, science, law and church among others, provided with a range of examples and approaches from different European countries. In fact, these handbooks also dissert the usage of vernaculars alongside Latin as an already accepted and normal research subject, to which even separate parts in the handbooks are dedicated.²³

²⁰ Cf. (1) Josef IJsewijn, 1990. *Companion to Neo-latin Studies. Part 1. History of Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.; (2) IJsewijn, J., Sacré, D., 1998. *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part 2. Literary, linguistic, philological, and editorial questions*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

²¹ A number of articles on different aspects of Neo-Latin Studies from 1971 onwards are published in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini* – a denominator for a series of conference proceedings (altogether 15) (cf. <http://www.ianls.com/index2.html?top0.html&0:home.html&2> [accessed February 10, 2018]).

²² Cf. Hans Helander, 2001. SO Debate: Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects. In: *Symbolae Osloenses* 76, pp. 5–102, especially pages 25–26, and especially 27–39. In 2004 H. Helander published a voluminous book about the Neo-Latin literature of early modern Sweden (*Neo-Latin literature in Sweden in the Period of 1620–1710: Stylistics, Vocabulary & Characteristic Ideas*. Uppsala: Studia Latina Uppsaliensia 29. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.).

²³ See especially the articles written in Ford, P., Bloemendal, J., Fantazzi, C. Eds, *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World. Macropaedia*, 2014, by (1) Tom Deneire entitled *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: Methodological Issues.*, pp. 275–285; and by (2) Nicolaus Thurn *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: Poetry.*, pp. 287–299. Also see an article written in Knight, S; Tilg, S., eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, 2015 (3) Demmy Verbeke *Neo-Latin's Interplay with Other Languages.*, pp. 27–40; and another article written by (4) D. Verbeke in 2015 in J. Bloemendal ed., *Bilingual Europe. Latin and Vernacular Cultures, Examples of Bilingualism and Multilingualism c. 1300–1800.*, entitled as Types of Bilingual Presentation in the English-Latin Terence., pp. 73–82. From one of the latest Neo-Latin handbooks edited by Victoria Moul – *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, 2017 – see the following article: (5) Tom Deneire. *Neo-Latin Literature and Vernacular*, pp. 35–51.

Important concepts and terminology for the research of early modern multilingualism have been developed and researched in detail by the Neo-Latin scholars over the last centuries. Namely, a number of debates about the relation of Latin and other languages was carried out already by the Renaissance scholars from different European countries and formulated as the matter of language question (i.e. *questione della lingua*). Therefore, studying and acknowledging these debates has been of crucial importance for Neo-Latin scholars. These discussions were initiated by the 15th century Italian scholars Flavio Biondo and Leonardo Bruni in 1435 after Cicero's *Brutus* was found a few years earlier in 1421 in which the usage of "sapor vernaculus" from the terminological point of view was commented on (e.g. Ramminger 2010: 7–8).²⁴ The process that resulted in the considerable decline of Latin usage, and eventually it being substituted by the vernacular languages in writings even in universities all over Europe, including the University of Dorpat, was called "vernacularisation". It initiated humanist scholars debating the terminology involved in the relation of Latin and vernacular languages (at a more regional level). Initially, from the first half of the 14th century due to Boccaccio's criticism on Dante's vernacular-written treatises, the term "vernaculus" referred to "maternal speech" that was considered to be an inferior language to Latin, and therefore was claimed to be ungrammatical.²⁵ As Lorenzo Valla claimed the word "vernaculus" to be a derivation from "verna" (a slave), he made an important sociolinguistic point, defining "lingua vernacula" not only as a local or a regional variant phenomena, but also as a language of the uneducated (cf. *Ibidem* 18). By the end of the 15th century the meaning of "sermo vernaculus" rapidly expanded to signify any (modern) language other than Latin. The language question (i.e. *questione della lingua*) was conclusively settled in favor of the vernacular by the seventeenth century, resulting in the irreversible marginalization of Latin that was foremost considered to be "a jargon of the university" (cf. Blumenthal & Kahane 1979: 188; Verbeke 2015a: 27–28).

Consequently, the matter of the coexistence of Latin (incl. Neo-Latin) and vernaculars within a text should not be news for any present day scholar studying Neo-Latin texts. Within the last years, the scholars, especially from the

Additionally, see an article by Demmy Verbeke, 2014. *History of Neo-Latin Studies.*, pp. 907–919, in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World. Macropaedia*, 2014.

²⁴ One of the most recent studies about the coexistence of Latin and vernaculars in the 15th century in L. Bruni's *Civic Humanism*, was published in 2018 in the journal *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, vol 67 No 1 (2018), written by Hester Schadee – *A Tale of Two Languages. Latin, the Vernacular, and Leonardo Bruni's Civic Humanism* (pp. 11–46). However, despite the promising title of the article, in its content the usage of vernacular and Latin in the same text are not commented on from a methodological point of view, that is providing a terminological approach on how the different languages are used together within a text.

²⁵ Cf. more about the debates about translating into Latin and vernaculars (incl. the modern secondary literature) in Annet den Haan's article from 2014 *Translation into Sermo Maternus: The View of Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459)* (In: Tom Deneire (ed). *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: Language and Poetics, Translation and Transfer*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 163–176).

Low Countries and Germany (e.g. Phillip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, Tom Deneire, Demmy Verbeke, also Johann Rammingner, Nikolaus Thurn and some others) have dedicated a number of articles and treatises under the discipline of Neo-Latin studies, to the vernaculars (see footnote 23 from above).²⁶ However, in the most important Neo-Latin handbooks and treatises from the last decade in which there are already separate sections and chapters dedicated to the interaction of Latin and vernaculars, in terms of using coherent and analogous terminology when describing the interaction between Latin and vernaculars, there rather seems to be a confusion.

For example, Thurn has analysed poetry in Neo-Latin and vernacular texts, but his disquisition remains rather superficial, apart from occasionally mentioning the interaction of Latin and vernaculars as a matter of the authors' prestige and eruditeness (2014: 289), but the question of how the interaction of at least two languages works has not been discussed at all.

Verbeke has also discussed the co-occurrence of Latin and vernaculars in a number of articles but the terminology he uses varies in separate articles and is rather vague. For instance, in order to refer to the multilingual texts, in one of his articles he uses the term "polyglot publications" – an umbrella term for texts that contain more than one language. In the same article he refers to such texts also either as "mixed-language texts" – texts that combine two or more languages in the same discourse – or as "multilingual texts" – texts in which the same message has been repeated in two or more languages (i.e. texts provided with translations) (cf. Verbeke 2015a: 29–31). In another article, he refers to such texts as "bilingual texts" – texts with the interaction between Latin and a vernacular (cf. Verbeke 2015b: 73–74), which, despite using different terms in the definitions, means basically the same. Occasionally he also uses the term "dominant language" – a term that remains undefined, part of claiming it to be predominantly Latin (cf. Verbeke 2015a: 29–31).

²⁶ See also the following books and articles about the discussions of the relation of Latin and vernacular languages: (1) Sarah Stever Gravelle's article from 1988 *The Latin-Vernacular Question and Humanist Theory of Language and Culture* in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 49, No. 3 (Jul.–Sep., 1988), pp. 367–386; (2) a treatise published in 2010 by Yasmin Haskell and Junita Feros Ruys (eds.), entitled as *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern Period*. In: *Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (ASMAR), vol. 30. Cf. especially an article written by Ann Moss – *Other Latins, Other Cultures.*, pp. 19–34.; (3) Renaissanceforum online journals: volume no 6 from 2010 entitled as *Latin and the Vernaculars in Early Modern Europe (Contributions from the Conference "Texts & contexts IV, The Role of Latin in Early Modern Europe"*, at the University of Aarhus; Sandbjerg, 17.–20.5.2007, Trine Arlund Hass, Johann Rammingner (eds.)), available also online: http://www.renaissanceforum.dk/rf_6_2010.htm; and volume no 8 from 2012 entitled as *The Role of Latin in the Early Modern World: Linguistic identity and nationalism 1350–1800*; available online: http://www.renaissanceforum.dk/rf_8_2012.htm [accessed on May 20, 2016].; (4) Philip Ford (ed.), 2013. *Judgment of Palaemon: The Contest Between Neo-Latin and Vernacular Poetry in Renaissance France*. In: *Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts* 9. Leiden: Brill.; (5) Gábor Almási, and Lav Šubarić (eds.), 2015. *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*. Leiden: Brill.

Deneire also acknowledges the coexistence of Latin and vernaculars within a text and regards the phenomenon in most cases as the authors' bilingualism. He is also one of the few Neo-Latin researchers who regards the concurrent use of Neo-Latin and vernacular language(s) as "code-switching", but as with many other authors, he does not provide any examples, explanations nor methodology for how code-switching occurs within the texts, and, in turn, how such texts should be studied.

Therefore, despite the fact that some researchers who study Neo-Latin texts in depth, have emphasized the coexistence of Latin and vernaculars within texts, and even considered it code-switching (especially Deneire), their disquisitions are still slightly superficial and vary in articles, especially in terms of providing a clear methodological as well as terminological approach on how those texts should be studied.²⁷ In the most part, the main focus of these analyses is still on studying the texts from a literary point of view, lacking the linguistic approach in terms of the texts' actual linguistic performance, including the relation of different languages within a text, and how different languages are combined between one another. This, in turn, means that another approach that provides methodology and that would differ from the descriptive case studies provided by Neo-Latinists, is needed when studying the texts in which both Latin and vernaculars are used in a more complex manner than what is provided in single examples.

Hence when studying multilingual texts, there is a need to use both the methodology and terminology from the other disciplines. In consequence, in the context of the present thesis, the terminology from **historical sociolinguistics** seems to be the most coherent. Yet, as the research field itself has developed only over the past 30–40 years,²⁸ and the focal point of many historical sociolinguistic treatises has not been on the academic texts, not all of the methodology and terminology from the field has been adapted to the analysis of the

²⁷ In terms of Neo-Latin handbooks and treatises that concentrate on texts that are considered to be either bi- or multilingual, one of the most promising (and recent) ones is the *Bilingual Europe: Latin and Vernacular Cultures – Examples of Bilingualism and Multilingualism c. 1300–1800*, edited by Jan Bloemendal and published in 2015. In this book a number of medieval as well as early modern texts are analysed, mentioning also the fact that a number of them were either bi- or multilingual; that is, the coexistence of Latin and vernacular(s) within a text was evident. However, despite the assumption that this might be one of the very first Neo-Latin handbooks providing coherent approaches on how to study multilingual historical texts, in the articles, in fact, the coexistence of Latin and vernacular(s) has been considered, mentioning occasionally how they are interacted within the text, but not once has the methodology (nor terminology) of how to study multilingual texts (such as code-switching, multilingual practices, switches etc.), been presented. For instance, see the article written by Demmy Verbeke, entitled *Types of Bilingual Presentation in the English-Latin Terence.*, pp. 73–82.

²⁸ The seminal treatise in the discipline of historical sociolinguistics was written in 1982 by Suzanne Romaine, entitled *Socio-Historical Linguistics. Its Status and Methodology* – an exhaustive study of the relation between the language(s) and society, provided with a historical dimension.

present thesis, but the one most appropriate to a study of multilingual historical academic texts.

The main **terminological** standpoint in the present thesis is “**multilingual practices**” – a phenomenon that is often defined as the “*alternating use of at least two languages in historical writings*” (cf. Nurmi, Tyrkkö, Petäjaniemi, Pahta 2018: 171). It is a characteristic which makes it possible to consider a number of different text types and topics within a single study under the same denominator, and has been used from the 1990s onwards to describe multilingual texts (cf. Wenzel 1994; Trotter 2000; Adams, Janse, Swain 2002; Adams 2003; Hüning, Vogl, Moliner 2012 etc.). In recent years these practices have been studied foremost in a number of English historical writings on different research topics (cf. Pahta and Nurmi 2006; Taavitsainen and Pahta 2011; Schendl and Wright 2011; Pahta, Skaffari, Wright 2018 etc). Additionally, multilingual practices is also often used as an umbrella term for different types of code-switching which, in turn, has been one of the most important and also the most complex research problems in historical sociolinguistics for at least the last three decades.

As the corpus material of the present thesis incorporates a large number of different academic texts from various authors and domains, the concept of multilingual practices seems to be the most coherent for analysing multifaceted historical academic data from the University of Dorpat in the 17th century.

Secondly, in my approach to the texts, the term “**text-unit**”²⁹ is the most important. I define a “text-unit” as a semantically and formally complete segment of a text, reflecting one communication event (i.e. a written text) created by a single (or hardly ever by two) author(s).³⁰ However, as the overall corpus of the present thesis is extremely large and multifaceted, comprising texts, the length of which varies to a great extent, finding a common denominator that is coherent for each and every text within the corpus, is extremely complicated, and even problematic. Therefore, in the present thesis, sometimes an entire collection of texts (such as a textbook) constitutes a single text-unit. Yet, on the other hand, even a single entry in an *album amicorum* or a number of short

²⁹ Herbert Schendl, Laura Wright, Päivi Pahta, Jukka Tyrkko et al., as the leading researchers of historical sociolinguistics on the basis of early English literature, have studied multilingual practices, have taken into consideration the total number of words in the corpora, and thus carried out the studies more on the grounds of the words, not so much on the text-units that, as a counterweight, is going to be concentrated on in this study.

Synonymously to the term “text-unit” quite often the term “historical record” is used, especially by historians when referring to historical academic texts (i.e. either to textbooks, academic letters, disputations or *alba amicorum* etc) (cf. H. Hotson, 2011. *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German ramifications, 1543–1630*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.).

³⁰ In the present thesis the term “communication event” which is created by an author or authors (and often meant for the addressee or addressees) is used synonymically with “conversation event” and comprises a single (separate) text-unit (both manuscript or a printed text). For example, a (printed) disputation, dissertation, oration, festivities’ program etc; as well as (handwritten) correspondence, regulation, protocol etc.

entries in *matricula* can be considered as self-contained occasions of multilingual practices, as each of them reflects a single communication event.

The third key term used here is “**code-switching**”, which is going to be the very basis of the analysis presented in a number of case studies of the thesis. Despite the fact that code-switching has generally been regarded (and thus studied) foremost as a phenomenon of spoken interaction carried out by bilinguals as a result of language(s) contact (cf. Schendl 2012: 523–524), in recent years, especially from the 1990s onwards, the term has been adapted to a number of studies of both modern and historical multilingual written texts as well.³¹ The term “code-switching” has in most cases been defined as (cf. Callahan 2004; Pahta and Nurmi 2006: 203; Gardner-Chloros 2009; Matras 2009: 101–145):

*“the co-occurrence of two or more languages in a single/specific communication event.”*³²

In the present study the given formulation is also used. Under the phrase “a single/specific communication event” the written academic text-units, in which code-switching occurs, are considered.

The main impulses for code-switching are, according to **Penelope Gardner-Chloros**, influenced by three types of factors, such as: (1) macro-level factors that are community wide, e.g. prestige, power relations, (2) factors pertaining to the individual speaker, e.g. proficiency, identity, social networks, (3) micro-level factors that are important within a conversation (2009: 42–43). However, in the present thesis in cases of analysing code-switching within text-units, these factors are considered only occasionally where possible.

Besides studying a number of code-switches within a text-unit, there are also occasions in which the embeddings from other language(s) could be considered

³¹ Code-switching as one of the most important research problems in historical sociolinguistics has been the interest of many scholars during the last three decades. After S. Romaine’s (1982) seminal work *Socio-Historical linguistics...*, a number of treatises concentrating on the analysis of code-switching from the historical perspective have been published. The most compendious works by S. Poplack (1980, 1985), J.-P. Blom and J. Gumperz (1972), M. Heller (1988), L. Wright (2002), H. Schendl (2002, 2012), P. Pahta (2003, 2011, 2012), L. Callahan (2004); Bullock, Toribio (2009), A. Nurmi (2011), H. Halmari (1993, 1997), H. Schendl, L. Wright (2011); M. Sebba, S. Mahootian, C. Jonsson (2012), M. Hüning, U. Vogl, O. Moliner, (2012), P. Pahta, J. Skaffari, L. Wright (2018), have to be mentioned, as well as seminal works on the relations between code-switching and borrowing written by C. Myers-Scotton (1992, 1993) and P. Gardner-Chloros (2009). One of the most compendious recent treatises comprising the different aspects of historical sociolinguistics was published in 2012 by H. J. M. Campoy and J. C. Conde-Silvestre entitled *The Handbook of historical sociolinguistics*.

³² Some authors, such as L. Callahan, for example, define code-switching as “*the use of words and structures from more than one language or linguistic variety by the same writer within the same utterance*” (2004: 34).

as **loanwords (i.e. borrowings)** instead of code-switching – a controversial distinction which is still today extremely complex for scholars studying these phenomena. The most problematic is the question of code-switching versus borrowing, especially when dealing with single words taken from another language that have been added to the main text.³³ Callahan, for instance, provides rather useful distinctive criteria between a single-word code-switch and a borrowing, that to some extent, can be adjustable to the analysis sections of the present thesis: the degree of structural (i.e., morphological, phonological, or orthographical) adaptation, quantity, frequency of individual lexemes, and discourse function (2004: 1–15).

However, due to the difficulties of clearly distinguishing between a single word code-switch and a borrowing, the majority of such occasions have in the present thesis still been considered code-switching instead of borrowing.³⁴

In addition, there are also sub-types of borrowings that could occasionally be used – “**nonce-borrowings**” and “**cultural borrowings**”. According to **Shana Poplack and Majory Meechan** (1995: 200) nonce-borrowings are:

“words attested to only sporadically, in contrast to the traditional definition of loanwords (or cultural borrowings) as being incorporated into the lexicons, accessible to all speakers.”

Yet, “*words that are quite Latin-looking and are used similarly to code-switched words*” are considered, in this context, as cultural borrowings when using **Carol Myers-Scotton’s** term (1993: 5; 2006: 212–215).³⁵ According to

³³ There are a number of discussions about the distinction between code-switching and borrowing, of which the most compendious studies are written by C. Myers-Scotton (1992), S. Poplack and M. Meechan (1995) and P. Gardner-Chloros (1995), P. Gardner-Chloros (2009), and H. Schendl (2018).

³⁴ For example, in order to distinguish between single-word code-switches and borrowings, Matras also provides a distinction, according to which single (Latin) word-forms in vernacular contexts are classified as code-switches (2009: 110–114). He points out five criteria that could be considered as the frame for the classification of a Latin word-form as a single-word code-switch instead of a borrowing: (1) bilinguality continuum (i.e. bilingualism of the author *that is evident from the texts*), (2) structural integration (i.e. Latin word-form has to be syntactically integrated to the main text), (3) the “regularity” dimension (i.e. word-form should occur extremely rarely in the text), (4) functional continuum (i.e. code-switches are used for more textual and stylistic objectives), (5) usage of “foreignism” (i.e. only in such occasions when single-word code-switches are provided with translations, thus it may or may not be considered as a code-switch).

As the corpus of the present thesis comprises a great amount of different text-units written by a number of different authors (including texts in which the author is unknown), under a number of various domains and sub-groups, the character of the present thesis corpus is extremely diverse, and so the criteria given by Matras cannot be adapted to this dissertation.

³⁵ For more, see the following treaties: (1) C. Myers-Scotton. 1993, *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Code-switching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; (2) C. Myers-Scotton, 2006. *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

her concept cultural borrowings constitute words which express concepts that do not exist in the lexicon of the recipient language.

In the present thesis nonce- and cultural borrowings are reckoned with in their occurrence when distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing. Yet, the exhaustive analysis of different borrowings is not one of the central aims of the thesis and thus is not going to be the main focus of the analysis either.

When distinguishing between the different code-switching and mixing strategies adaptable to diachronic linguistic analysis, the theory by **Pieter Muysken** (2000: 229, 249) is applicable to the present thesis:

“As the extent of language contact grows, the type of mixing will shift from insertional to either alternational or congruent lexicalization”.

Therefore, according to Muysken in this thesis, as **“alternations”** are considered switches *“from one language to the other that also involves grammar and lexicons”* and follow the strategy of A–B (from one language to another). **“Insertions”**, on the other hand, are embeddings made into the matrix language on a scheme of A–B–A (i.e. from the main language to the other language and then back to the main language). **“Congruent lexicalization”** is a style shifting and intra-system variation in which the matrix language and the embedded language interpolations share a common grammatical structure that is filled with lexical items from either language (cf. *Ibidem* 3–5, 33, 60).

The terminological distinction between different languages used within the writings according to their linguistic proportions, is drawn from **Carol Myers-Scotton’s** (1993) concept of distinguishing between the majority and minority languages within a single utterance (i.e. text-unit). The language that is used predominantly as a majority language in a writing is called the **“Matrix Language”**, and the other that is outnumbered by the latter – the minority language – is called the **“Embedded Language”**. According to Myers-Scotton’s (1993) concept, the term “matrix language” (ML) refers to the structurally dominant language used in the conversation event that provides a text with a frame (which is thus also called the frame language (FL) and used as a synonym for ML), and the other language, into which code-switches are made, is called the “embedded language” (EL). As the terms “matrix language” and “embedded language” could be controversial and are often used as a part of “Matrix Language Frame Model” that was introduced by Myers-Scotton (1993), in the present thesis, however, those terms are used in the non-controversial sense referring foremost to the main languages and the grammatical background of the analysed texts (i.e. matrix language) provided with interpolations from other languages (i.e. embedded language).

On the other hand, when referring to some sub-genres of manuscripts, the term **“ego-documents”** is used for correspondence that is considered to be as close to spoken language as possible, and in this respect, private letters, including their sub-genre writings, are clearly on the side of the language of

immediacy (cf. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 29; Callahan 2004: 34; Elspaß 2012a: 157-159).³⁶

Hypothesis, Aims, and the Methods of the Dissertation

As the ground material of the present thesis has been studied by previous researchers rather sporadically and hardly ever from the linguistic point of view, the **hypothesis** of the thesis will be stated as follows:

“the early modern Academia Dorpatensis was Latin-centred in each and every sphere of the academe.”

Herein Latin-centred means that either Latin was used exclusively in a number of different text-units, or in the case of using multilingual practices, Latin was the predominant language.

This claim is also supported by the general idea about the 17th century University of Dorpat that Latin was almost exclusively used as *lingua franca* of the academe, due to which, for example, a number of academic dissertations, disputations, orations as well as occasional poetry and other texts were in most part written in Latin (cf. Lepajõe 1994: 90; Lill 1994: 98).

In order to either prove or rebut this hypothesis, the following four **aims** are posed in this thesis:

- (1) to collect and systematize the overall academic textual heritage extant from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*;
- (2) to group all academic texts according to their function and to analyse them sociolinguistically;
- (3) to study the texts from the perspective of multilingual practices, in the present thesis, for example, diachronically, how the different practices are used within a single text-unit and text groups, which practices are preferred in different text-units, what is the frequency of code-switching etc.;
- (4) to find out whether it was preferred that the wide range of typography at the Academy be Latin-centered or, on the other hand, open to multilingual practices.

The main **method** of the present thesis recurses to the diachronic sociolinguistic analysis from the perspective of multilingual practices, which are studied in written historical records, with the focal point on the variable use of more than one language in a single communication event. As the ground material for the present thesis is diverse, it will be studied from the following different aspects.

³⁶ Cf. Leonhardt 2009: 221 (Nähesprachlichkeit), Leonhardt 2013: 220 (*conversational intimacy*).

First of all, the analysis concentrates on the systematic mapping of the sociolinguistic situation in different areas of the academe of Dorpat, and is provided with descriptive statistical information about the monolingual- as well as multilingual text corpora of the thesis. Therefore, the texts in each sub-group will be studied taking into consideration the following aspects: (1) what is the length, (2) the date and (3) the content of the texts, (4) whether the texts are handwritten or printed, (5) mono- or multilingual, (6) are there any explicit comments on the use of language(s) within the text and (7) are there any contemporary published translations of these historical records, and if so then (8) how regularly (if at all) are multilingual practices reflected in these translations.

As the monolingual texts are important to include when presenting the overall statistics of the data, the multilingual texts, on the other hand, are the ground material for the main analysis of the present thesis, reflecting the variable use of Latin and vernacular language(s) within a single text-unit. Besides the statistics in the account of the text-units, all the cases of multilingual practices have been counted on the basis of single text-units, the total sum of words is also given in the analysis part of every chapter where the exemplary texts are presented.³⁷

In order to give statistical averages of words or pages per text-units, student t-tests have been performed to justify all the corpora in the different chapters by indicating they have sufficient data for the statistical analyses.³⁸ This information provides the thesis with a frame.

Second, under each and every chapter of the thesis at least two case studies will be presented on the basis of exemplary multilingual text-units from different text genres. The main idea of each case study is to show which texts and parts of the texts are more open to multilingual practices, which languages were preferred as embedded languages and matrix languages, how the usage of a formulaic language varies in different text-units, and how the methods of visual pragmatics (cf. Machan 2011) have been used either to hide or support multilingual practices.

³⁷ Herbert Schendl, Laura Wright, Päivi Pahta, Jukka Tyrkko et al., as the leading researchers of historical sociolinguistics on the basis of early English literature, who have studied the multilingual practices, have taken into consideration the total numbers of words in the corpora, and thus carried out the studies more on the grounds of the words, not so much on the text-units that, as a counterweight, is going to be concentrated on in this study.

³⁸ Student's t-test is an analysis of two populations means through the use of statistical examination. A t-test with two samples is commonly used with small sample sizes, testing the difference between the samples when the variances of two normal distributions are not known. In the present thesis before providing statistical information under each and every text-group, a t-test is performed.

Corpus and Categories of the Research Material

The **corpus** of the dissertation comprises the complete extant academic material from the 17th century University of Dorpat known and accessible to the present author. It provides a huge number of publicly accessible and, for the most part, undigitized data, including both manuscripts and printed texts from the two periods of the early modern university – from the *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656) and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690–1710) –, that are extant due to the founding of the University’s print shop and the preservation of the University’s archives.³⁹

The total number of the **extant academic material** from the two periods of the University is **7,831 text-units**, out of which as much as 4,895 are manuscripts and 2,936 are printed texts, all in all comprising over 4,000,000 words (i.e. 4,183,549 words). When providing the overall proportions of text-units, the exact word count is also given in each chapter under every single text group and thus are not discussed in the introduction part in more detail.

The extant material covering all the manuscripts and printed texts from the University of Dorpat in the 17th century is kept in different European libraries and archives, such as in the National Archives of Sweden (Stockholms Riksarkivet, RA), the National Library of Sweden (Sveriges Kungliga Biblioteket), the library of the University of Uppsala, Carolina Rediviva (UUB); in the National Archives of Estonia and in the Library of the University of Tartu (MRBD), as well as in the Latvian State Historical Archives in Riga.

Taking into account the complicated history of the written heritage of the *Academia Dorpatensis* over the last three centuries (cf. e.g. Jaanson 2000: 37–38), it is obvious that many manuscripts as well as imprints have not been preserved. Therefore, it is impossible to evaluate the exact amount of lost texts for all of the text groups, not to say for the academy as a whole, as we do not know the total number of all of the original texts ever created (i.e. both handwritten and printed).

For example, when taking into account all of the extant Consistory protocols from the *Academia Dorpatensis*, it is known that all of the protocols from the AGC period are completely extant, while from the AG period there are protocols missing from the periods of April 1634 to 1637 and November 1640 to October 1644 (cf. Inno 1972: 36; Piirimäe 1982: 9–10; Piirimäe 1985: 27). This means that the protocols from a nine-year long period are missing from the overall 45-year period of the Academy as a whole, meaning that about one-fifth

³⁹ Due to the character of the ground material (i.e. printed as well as handwritten material), the context (i.e. 17th century University of Dorpat), and the aim (i.e. to study the written academic heritage from the perspectives of the linguistic performance of the scholars as well as the students), the oral communication in the early modern Dorpat has very briefly been discussed in the present thesis. In addition, as there are only a few text-units from the material of the whole corpus of the present thesis that have been digitized or re-edited, the basic texts of the study have been either the original texts or photocopies of the originals, which all have been collected and studied manually.

or 20% of the texts from this sub-group alone are lost. In the other text groups, the proportion of lost texts could be totally different. Therefore, the results of this dissertation are relative.

In order to analyse all of the extant texts systematically and in more detail, they have to be logically **categorized**. However, dividing a huge number of texts under several text types (i.e. domains) is always problematic, especially when working with undigitized, manually collected historical data that has, in fact, never been completely categorized before. Even the contributors to one of the first exhaustive digitized web-based corpora intended for sociohistorical studies of Old, Middle and Early Modern English – The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts – have admitted the difficulties in categorizing large data under separate domains or text groups:

“Text type categorization is a highly relevant but also the most difficult structural aspect in the compilation of a corpus. It seems that no theoretically satisfactory classification by text type has so far been developed for this purpose [...]”

(cf. Helsinki Corpus. General Introduction. In: *Varieng: research unit for variation, contacts and change in English*).⁴⁰

However, when still trying to find a theoretical framework for such a categorization, there are treatises written on the topic, out of which a couple of main ideas can to some extent be adapted to the present thesis.

To create the most appropriate set of categories used for describing the text corpus, different text (type) parameters have to be used (cf. Kohnen 2001: 197).⁴¹

There are two main approaches to the criteria for the distribution of text types in linguistics:

- (1) **extralinguistic parameters**, i.e. **language-external criteria** (cf. Biber et al. 1998)⁴², that focus mainly on the aspects of the function and context of a text (used primarily in historical sociolinguistics, including studies in connection with the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts), and
- (2) **formal**, i.e. **linguistic parameters**, e.g. studying different “linguistic dimensions” based on a number of studies from Douglas Biber (1988, 1993), and Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan (1989).

The first approach makes it possible to divide the texts into large categories or domains (e.g. art, science, religion, government etc.) based foremost on their external attributes, for instance, the function and aim of a text, the addressor and the addressee and so on. The second approach, on the other hand, requires more

⁴⁰ Cf. more in: <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HelsinkiCorpus/generalintro.html> [accessed 25 March 2018].

⁴¹ Cf. Thomas Kohnen (2001). *On Defining Text Types within Historical Linguistics: The Case of Petitions/Statutes*. In: *European Journal of English Studies*, 5:2, 197–203.

⁴² Cf. Biber, Douglas; Conrad, Susan; Reppen, Randi (1998). *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

in-depth analysis of the texts (i.e. to reveal, for instance, co-occurrence patterns of morphosyntactic, stylistic and other analogous features) (Lee 2001: 46).⁴³

In the case of working with a huge and undigitized corpus, the latter suggestion, however, is not as efficient as the former, especially when also taking into account the idea given by Atkins, Clear and Ostler (1992: 5):⁴⁴

“The initial selection of texts for inclusion in a corpus will inevitably be based on external evidence primarily. [...] A corpus selected entirely on internal criteria would yield no information about the relation between language and its context of situation.”

Regardless, the extralinguistic parameters being a more comprehensive approach when working with huge amounts of data, there are still some deficiencies in terms of providing all-exhaustive categories of texts. Therefore, other parameters which help describe the texts in more detail, such as, for instance, **domain-based parameters**, should also be considered to some extent when categorizing the texts, especially as the functions of different text types may or may not be influenced by the domain.

The seminal study about the correlation between the distribution of linguistic features and the different textual functions was written by Douglas Biber in 1988,⁴⁵ provided with statistical analysis. It occurred that no clear correlation whatsoever could be seen between the text function and the genre. Therefore, texts that belong under the same text type (or domain) might in fact differ in terms of their content, function or proportion, and hence be totally different from what is presumed by their type. Such an outcome seems to be rather inevitable, especially when studying large corpora. However, all of the texts should, at least to some extent, be studied before categorizing the texts, in order to see whether the correlation is possible or not.

On the other hand, domain-specific parameters comprise the idea that the genres of a particular domain (e.g. religious discourse, discourse of science, discourse of mass media) form a structured network that can be captured in a systematic way (cf. Kohnen 2012).⁴⁶ This concept dates back to the studies of research genres by John Swales (2004), and a number of works on genre dynamics by Irma Taavitsainen (2009, 2010).

⁴³ Cf. David Y. W. Lee, (2001). *Genres, registers, text types, domains, and styles: clarifying the concepts and navigating a path through the BNC jungle*. In: *Language Learning & Technology*, September 2001, Vol. 5, Num. 3, pp. 37–72.

⁴⁴ Cf. Atkins, S., Clear, J., Ostler, N. (1992). *Corpus Design Criteria*. In: *Journal of Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 7(1), 1–16.

⁴⁵ Cf. Douglas Biber (1988). *Variation across Speech and Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁶ Cf. Thomas Kohnen (2012). A toolkit for constructing corpus networks. In: Carla Suhr & Irma Taavitsainen (eds), *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English (VARIENG)*, vol 11. *Developing Corpus Methodology for Historical Pragmatics*. (<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/11/index.html> [accessed 25 March 2018]).

The majority of the domain-specific parameters are hierarchies, sets and chains, that might exist between the texts under the same domain. Hierarchies are groups of genres reflecting how the participants communicate with each other. Kohnen distinguishes three order-types: first-order (texts issued by the superior), second-order (participants address a superior authority or institution) and the third-order (participants who do not form a superior body). Under sets different groupings of genres are compiled that reflect their relative position in the discourse. The last component are the chains – parameters essential when linking to the corpora (cf. Kohnen 2012).

As all of the given approaches can, to some extent be adapted to the study of historical data, there are some obstacles as well. Namely, these methods are rather easily applicable to linguistic studies using digitized corpora, but cannot be completely adapted to a study of undigitized data due to, first of all, the time restrictions (set on both collecting the data and writing the thesis). Additionally, not all of the parts of the domain-specific parameters (i.e. especially sets, chains) can be adjusted to the present thesis either, due to the fact that under each domain there are a number of different text types that in fact might not be related to one another, except for their function. Hierarchies, on the other hand, seem to be the most probable parts of the domain-specific parameters that can be adapted to the present data as they are more likely to be evident from the corpus of the present thesis.

Therefore, when categorizing the academic texts of the early modern University of Dorpat, the approach of combining the extralinguistic parameters; that is, language-external criteria in connection with some of the domain-based parameters (e.g. different hierarchies between text-units) seems to be the most coherent. However, despite the fact that there are a number of studies that provide either language-external or domain-based categorizations for a number of historical texts, there is still not a single coherent study which provides an all-encompassing categorization for the academic texts of early modern universities, except for the categorization of printed academic texts provided by Jaanson (see footnote 14 from above). Therefore, when studying a large corpus of (uncategorized) historical academic data, such a categorization has to be created taking into account and combining many different factors, e.g. the main functions of the texts, their aims, types etc.

As in the 17th century *Academia Dorpatensis* under the faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine and Philosophy, a range of various syllabi was taught, and a number of different texts with different functions were also produced. In addition to a number of instructional texts used foremost for teaching and learning purposes, from all the other fields of the Academy as a whole, a great amount of other texts, e.g. those needed for administrating the Academy, dealing with its financial as well as festive and representative issues, can also be considered under the production of the academic written heritage of the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*.

In order to analyse all of the extant texts systematically and in depth, they are divided into six major **categories** (i.e. domains) according foremost to their

extralinguistic parameters, mainly the general function of the texts. Under each main group or domain there are also a number of separate sub-groups of texts, which from their extra-linguistic criteria belong under the equivalent category.

Under each main group or domain there are also a number of separate sub-groups of texts, which from their extra-linguistic criteria belong under the equivalent category.

The division of manuscripts and printed academic texts into the following basic domains is created by the present author, taking into account the main character and function of every single text-unit (i.e. the external parameters of the texts), considering also the categorization provided by Jaanson (2000: 38):

(1) legislative

- foundation charter of the University of Dorpat (*Diploma Foundationis 1632*),
- constitutions of the University (1632/ written c. 1650, and 1690)
- regulations and decrees
- royal Privileges

(2) administrative

- consistory protocols
- protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy
- *matricula*
 - *matricula* of students
 - *matricula* of deposition
- judicial documents
- official ordinances and patents

(3) financial

- cashbooks
- trial balance
- analyses of trial balance
- lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries
- cash orders for receiving scholarships and salaries
- different receipts

(4) instructional

- texts regulating teaching processes
 - catalogues of lectures
- instructional text-units, such as teaching materials
 - textbooks
- text-units reflecting the learning processes
 - academic occasional poetry
 - students' style exercises
 - dissertations and disputations

(5) ceremonial and festive

- descriptions of *Actus inauguralis*

- inaugural speeches
- programmes, invitations and proclamations
 - proclamations to promotions
 - invitations to funerals
 - proclamations to public lectures and orations
- ceremonial orations
 - salutatory orations
 - funeral orations
- sermons
- occasional poems
 - *epicedia*
 - *encomia*
 - *epithalamia*

(6) official and personal communication

- official and personal correspondence of the Academy
- student scholarship applications to the Consistory
- entries in *alba amicorum*.

All of those texts under each main domain (i.e. including the sub-groups of texts) will be analysed more thoroughly under each chapter of the present thesis, and thus will not be presented here in more detail.⁴⁷

Structure of the Dissertation

The present thesis is divided into six larger thematic chapters so that every one of them contains several sub-chapters comprising a number of different text types, each analyzing the linguistic situation within a different specific text type. In each chapter mono- and multilingual texts have been distinguished and analysed. However, as the main focus of the thesis is showing the multiple use of languages besides Latin, sub-chapters with multilingual texts are also provided with a longer analysis, while monolingual texts will be studied briefly.

When illustrating the sub-group of a category, the most exemplary texts that reflect the language variation the best, are chosen, and on the basis of these, different case studies have been made. The analysed material provided in the case studies is presented either as tables, graphs or schemes in order to comprehend the data better. In consideration of the large amount of data and the

⁴⁷ As all of the academic texts from the early modern University of Dorpat in the present thesis are divided into different categories and provided with a number of sub-groups presented and analysed in chapters of the thesis for the first time (as no one has ever studied all of those texts in a single treatise before), the full inventory of the distribution of the corpus of the thesis, which is also one of the important results of the thesis, cannot be presented here in the introduction in more detail, but under each of the following chapters instead.

character of the thesis, the subject fields other than the sociohistorical aspect in terms of the terminology will not be discussed in the present study in much detail.

The **first chapter** of the thesis that analyses legislative academic texts comprises 116 text-units, and is divided into 4 sub-groups (foundation charter, constitutions, regulations and decrees, royal privileges). It provides an overview of each of the text types with the focal point on multilingual texts, and an in-depth case study of the handwritten multilingual academic regulation from Johan Skytte from 1633, in comparison with 4 other handwritten regulations.

The **second chapter** analyses administrative academic documents, all in all 1,334 text-units which are divided into 5 larger sub-groups (consistory protocols, protocols from the faculty of philosophy, *matricula*, judicial documents, official ordinances and patents). The chapter provides two in-depth case studies – one about the handwritten multilingual consistory protocol, and the other about the printed multilingual ordinance from Eric Dahlberg from 1698.

The **third chapter** deals with financial documents with a sub-corpus of 450 text-units all which are manuscripts and divided into 6 sub-groups (cashbooks, trial balance, analysis of trial balance, lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries, cash orders for receiving scholarships and salaries, different receipts). Two case studies are provided – the first one about the multilingual cashbook from 1645–1646, and the other about the multilingual summary receipt from 1707.

The **fourth chapter** which is also the largest, is dedicated to instructional texts, with the overall corpus of 1,751 text-units. It has been divided into three larger groups (text-units regulating teaching processes, instructional text-units, such as teaching materials, and text-units reflecting the learning processes) each of which is also provided with detailed sub-groups. Case studies provided in chapter four analyse the printed multilingual occasional poem, students' handwritten style exercises, one of the printed grammar books as well as printed academic dissertations, disputations as well as orations.

The **fifth chapter** analyses the linguistic performance in ceremonial and festive academic texts, with an overall corpus of 1,135 text-units. This chapter is the most multifaceted in terms of different sub-groups, comprising altogether of 6 larger sub-groups (descriptions of *actus inauguralis*; inaugural speech; programmes, invitations and proclamations; ceremonial orations; sermons; occasional poems) with a number of additional sub-groups under each of these. Case studies are performed on Ludwig Dunte's printed multilingual inaugural sermon from 1632 and the printed bilingual *epithalamium* from 1643.

The **sixth chapter** deals with texts in connection with the Academy's official and personal communication with an overall corpus of 3,045 text-units. They are divided under three main sub-groups (official and personal correspondence in the Academy; student scholarship applications to the Consistory of the Academy; entries in the *alba amicorum*). Three comparative case studies of handwritten texts are performed: the first one on two multilingual letters from 1655 and 1692, the second on two of the multilingual scholarship applications

from 1693 and 1696, and the last one on the multilingual entries in *alba amicorum* from 1633 and 1701.

Besides the thematic six chapters, the thesis also comprises a list of abbreviations, two summaries (one in English and the other in Estonian), list of references, as well as 30 illustrative reproductions from the original imprints and manuscripts.

1. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN LEGISLATIVE TEXTS FROM *ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS*

1.1. Overview of the corpus of mono- and multilingual legislative texts

This chapter focuses on analysing historical legislative documents from both periods of the 17th century *Academia Dorpatensis*, namely *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656) and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690–1710) from a linguistic point of view, distinguishing between mono- and multilingual text-units.

Under the term “legislative text”, all legal documents produced by both the Swedish reign and the officials of the Academy that are decreed to the *Academia Dorpatensis* and stipulated its administration, as well as governing and legal decrees, are considered.⁴⁸

The legislative documents forming the corpus of this chapter are divided into the following four sub-groups according to both their regulative and legislative functions, as well as their authors and recipients (the latter is especially important when distinguishing between different regulations):

- (1) Foundation charter of the University of Dorpat⁴⁹ (*Diploma Foundationis*, 1632),
- (2) Constitutions of the University⁵⁰ (1632 /written c. 1650, and 1690),

⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that the term “legislative” was first attested in the year 1642 (OED), i.e. exactly within the period which is under observation in this study. According to the OED, the meaning of “legislative” is “having the power to make laws” or “relating to making laws”, which is close to the corresponding explanation used in this chapter as well.

⁴⁹ Nowadays, the charter, which can be considered one of the first privileges given to *Academia Dorpatensis*, is preserved in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm in a fond called Livonica II that comprises a number of extant manuscripts (incl. different correspondence, constitutions, privileges etc.) from the *Academia Gustaviana* and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* periods. The catalogue Livonica II comprises volumes 446–475, incorporating predominantly different types of manuscripts. The foundation charter is kept in volume 475.

The first printed transcription of the foundation charter was published in 1932 by Juhan Vasar (*Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo allikad. I, Academia Gustaviana. Ürikuid ja dokumente = Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Tartu (Dorpat), I. Academia Gustaviana, Urkunden und Dokumente*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool), and its new publication provided with translation into Estonian was commented on and published by Raik-Hiio Mikelsaar in 2005. *Diploma Foundationis Academiae Sive Universitatis Dorpatensis*. Gründungsurkunde der Universität Dorpat. Stiftelseurkund för Dörpats Universitet. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

⁵⁰ The constitution granted to *Academia Gustaviana* that was founded already in 1632, was in fact created as late as in 1650 (after the year 1650 during the incumbency of the AG’s vice-chancellor Zacharias Klingius) that followed closely the constitution of the University of Uppsala that was revised in 1626 (cf. Inno 1972: 28–30; Sak 1997a: 80). Similarly, the constitution given to *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* in 1690 by the King Charles the XI of Sweden was also followed the example of Uppsala’s constitution from 1689 that in turn was a slightly modified version of the constitution from 1655 (cf. Inno 1972: 30). In the present

- (3) Regulations and decrees⁵¹ (throughout the AG and AGC periods),
- (4) Royal Privileges⁵² (confirmed on May 8, 1635; July 31, 1647, 1654, and 1690).

Each sub-group of the legislative texts category will be studied taking into consideration the following: the length, date and content of the texts, whether the texts are handwritten or printed, mono- or multilingual, whether there are any explicit comments on the use of languages within the text and whether any contemporary translations of these historical records have been published, and if so how often (if at all) the multilingual practices are reflected in these translations. See section 1.3.4. for an exhaustive case study of a rather exemplary text produced under the category “legislative text” – a regulation from the Governor-General of Livonia, Ingria and Carelia, Johan Skytte senior (in office 1629–1634) for the *Academia Gustaviana* as a whole. This text will also be part of a comparative study including four Royal regulations.

The founding charter, constitutions and privileges, however, have been dismissed from this case study by the author, but despite that, they will all still be briefly discussed under the sub-chapter on monolingual legislative texts as background material (in 1.2. and 1.3., respectively). Before the case study, however, statistical information about the sub-groups of legislative texts will be presented, concentrating mostly on illustrating the linguistic situation and variation within those records.

The corpus collected and created for this chapter covers all the extant legislative manuscripts and printed texts comprising 116 text-units, out of which 71 (66%) are manuscripts and 45 (34%) are imprints. Regardless of the fact that from all of the extant academic heritage (total 7,831 text-units), the legislative texts constitute only as little as 1.5%, and in the history of the University of

thesis the constitutions will be abbreviated as ConsL1, referring to the AG period constitution, and as ConsL2 to the AGC period equivalent and as ConsS1 to the Swedish translation of the AGC period Latin constitution.

⁵¹ This sub-group comprises all of the regulations sent to the Consistory of the Academy from either King of Sweden, Livonian Governor-General that were meant to be followed. It has to be mentioned that the regulations from the Livonian Governor-General under study in this dissertation are exclusively regulations connected with the university. Due to the Governor-General’s responsibilities, in addition to everything else, he also performed the duties of the university’s chancellor (cf. Inno 1972: 34; Sak 1997a: 11). All of the extant regulations are kept in the RA fond Livonica II, volumes 446 and 460, as well as in the Uppsala University Library in the fond Palmskiöld 320.

⁵² The privileges given to *Academia Dorpatensis* in its *Academia Gustaviana* period (confirmed on May 8 in 1635) were the same that the Swedish king Gustav II Adolf conferred to the University of Uppsala at first on June 25 in 1625 (which, in turn, were designated to the University of Uppsala on the privileges granted to the University of Bologna), and which were later, in 1690, designated to *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* by Charles XI.

The privileges from 1635 were designated to *Academia Gustaviana* by the Regents of Queen Kristina, in 1647 by the Queen herself, and in 1654 by Charles X Gustavus (cf. Vasar 1932: 75; Inno 1972: 30).

Dorpat these texts can be considered fundamental documents, which were used and referred to quite often.

Rather remarkably, the academic legislative text-units are extant equally from the AG and the AGC periods – 58 text-units (i.e. 50%) from both periods, respectively.

The total number of monolingual text-units is 37 (32%), of which 17 are extant from the AG and the remaining 20 from the AGC period. Eleven (11) of them are in fact printed texts (five extant from the AG and six from the AGC period) and the remaining 26 are manuscripts (12 from the AG and 14 from the AGC period).

The total number of multilingual text-units, on the other hand, is 79 (68%), with 41 from the AG and (slightly less) 38 from the AGC period; 34 of them are printed texts (equally 17 from both periods) and 45 are manuscripts (24 from the AG and 21 from the AGC period).

In spite of the fact that the number of multilingual texts exceeds the monolingual group by 42 text-units, it does not necessarily indicate that the proportion and length of the former group of texts surpasses the latter.⁵³

In order to show the exact ratio between mono- and multilingual texts, the number of words in both groups also has to be taken into account. Therefore, each text group in the sub-divisions of this chapter's material will be briefly described.

The largest sub-group in this chapter are the **regulations and decrees** with 83 text-units comprising about 71.5% of the whole corpus of this chapter's data. The majority of them – 46 – were written during the AGC and the remaining 37 are from the AG period. In terms of their length, the regulations vary between 1–2 pages (60 are a-page long and 23 of two pages) and are mostly of folio-size. The average number of words per page is 275, so that the total word count in all of the academic regulations is 29,150 words.

The second sub-group comprises the **Royal privileges** with a total of 29 text-units (i.e. 25% of the legislative academic texts); 19 of them are preserved from the AG and the remaining 10 from the AGC period. In terms of their the privileges are about a page long, so that each comprises about 436 words on average, and thus the whole sub-group is about 12,644 words.

The following two sub-groups are also the smallest by number of text-units, but also the most voluminous. The third group are **constitutions** with three separate text-units (i.e. 2.6% of the sub-chapter's corpus). Two of them are extant from the AGC period and one from the AG. Despite the small number of text-units within the sub-group of constitutions, they are in fact the longest at 75, 142 and 144 pages in length. Each page covers about 104 words and thus all of them together contain 37,544 words (comprising 7,800, 14,768 and 14,976 words, respectively).

⁵³ As mentioned before in the introduction, the length of the text-unit can vary based on its explanation and purpose, i.e. a constitution, regardless of its length (from 75 to 144 pages), is considered as one text-unit.

The smallest sub-group consists of only a single text (constituting just 0.9% of this chapter's corpus) – the **foundation charter** – which in fact is one of the most important documents from the *Academia Dorpatensis*. It is from the AG period, utterly monolingual, written in Latin and covers 508 words.

When analysing how the legislative texts could chronologically be divided throughout the period of *Academia Dorpatensis*, the timeframe when those documents were produced (given in brackets after the division above) has to be taken into consideration. It appears that *Diploma Foundationis*, which represents the foundation of the University of Dorpat, was decreed just once in 1632. Despite the fact that between *Academia Gustaviana* and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* there was a 25-year period when the university was closed, it still functioned as the same institution as a whole – *Academia Dorpatensis* – after it was re-established.

The most compendious legislative documents – the constitutions – which comprise all the decrees and regulations declaring how to govern the university, were designated differently: in the *Academia Gustaviana*, it was quite surprisingly produced not at the beginning of the period as in *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (in 1690) (ConsL2, ConsS1), but at its end instead – approximately in the year 1650, which is almost two decades after *Academia Gustaviana* was established (i.e. 1632) and six years before it was shut down (cf. Sak 1997: 80).

On the textual level, the constitution from *Academia Gustaviana* (ConsL1) was not a new independent document created around 1650, but rather an alternation (also called a parallelism⁵⁴ in linguistics) of the constitution of Uppsala University that was revised in 1626. A number of privileges, regulations and decrees which were the shortest in length and rather often the indicators of multilingual practices, however, were assigned throughout both periods, and constitute also the largest corpus within this chapter's sub-groups.

Regardless of the fact that all of the texts are both legislative and regulative in their function, none of them explicitly stipulates the linguistic performance (nor the required languages) of the text-units.

In order to show which languages were preferably used in legislative texts and how, the following two sub-chapters (ch. 1.2. and 1.3.) will distinguish the legislative documents into mono- and multilingual texts and will also be analysed.

⁵⁴ The term “parallelism” is taken from John Gumperz and Stephen Levinson reflecting on the different ways that languages can alternate within the same composition, reflecting degrees of integration or separation of languages, and meaning “twin-texts” each with the same content, but in different languages which have visual cues that refer to the similar content of the two texts (1996: 60).

1.2. Monolingual legislative texts

Monolingual legislative texts produced at *Academia Dorpatensis* are legal texts written exclusively in just one language – either in Latin or in a vernacular. The total number of all of the extant monolingual legislative text-units is 37 (i.e. 32%) of which 11 are imprints and 26 manuscripts; 17 of them are extant from the AG period and 13 are written in Latin and four in Swedish. Five Latin text-units are imprints and all the others are manuscripts. From the AGC period there are 20 text-units extant – 12 written in Latin and eight in Swedish. Six of them are imprints and 14 manuscripts.

Of the texts from the four sub-groups (given in ch. 1.1 above), two – the foundation charter (*Diploma Foundationis*) and the constitutions – represent exclusively monolingual text groups, written either entirely in Latin or in a vernacular – Swedish. However, the other groups also contain some examples of monolingual text-units.

The practice that the latest constitutions from 1690 might have followed, is a reflection of the “French model” for legal writings used from the 16th century onwards. The French model that declared all public and private deeds be written as well as read exclusively in a single language (i.e. French) was based on the Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêt of 1539 (cf. Gambaro 2007: 3–5).⁵⁵ The declaration carried the idea of avoiding the use of Latin (which had been used in legal terminology for centuries) in legal documents and to demonstrate the suitability of the vernacular in this matter instead. Due to Latin and French both deriving from Romance languages, this process did not result in changing many meanings of words, but made it possible to produce monolingual collections of texts by translating all the initial attested terminology from Latin to French (cf. *Ibidem* 8). A similar practice of producing legal documents exclusively in one language (in English, for instance) was also used in early modern England (cf. Hattenhauer 2007: 456).⁵⁶

Yet, most of the universities in Central and Eastern Europe (as in the University of Dorpat) continued using Latin in legislative academic writings (cf. *Ibidem*).

1.2.1. Latin Foundation charter (*Diploma Foundationis*) from 30 June 1632, and its multilingual alternation by Friedrich Menius from 1635

The foundation charter of the University of Dorpat can be considered one of the most important legislative academic documents designating the legal status of the university and the essential need for its privileges. The foundation charter –

⁵⁵ Cf. *Ordonnance du 25 août 1539 sur le fait de la justice (Ordonnance de Villers-Cotteret)*, see article 111.

⁵⁶ Cf. also Hans Hattenhauer (1999). *Europäische Rechtsgeschichte*. Heidelberg: C. F. Müller.

a historical piece of writing carrying all the information necessary for opening an institution, including its legacy, privileges, status and so on – was the basis of every educational institution founded in the medieval and early modern times in the Catholic as well as Protestant area. The foundation of the University of Dorpat and its predecessor, the Academic Gymnasium of Dorpat, was initiated by one of the greatest Swedish politicians and intellectuals of the 17th century, the Livonian Governor-General Johan Skytte (1577–1645)⁵⁷ whose services in initiating educational processes in the region cannot be underestimated.⁵⁸

This significant legislative document which records the foundation of the University of Tartu, dates back to 30 June 1632, when it was signed by the Swedish king Gustav II Adolph, just a few months before his tragic death in the Battle of Lützen. Having made that declaration, the University of Dorpat became a legitimacy of Uppsala University, being the second university under the realm of Sweden during early modern times (cf. Vasar 1932; Inno 1972; Piirimäe 1982; Hiio and Piirimäe 2007; Järvelaid, Viiding 2015: 38–40).

The foundation charter itself is a monolingual page-long manuscript consisting of 508 words, written exclusively in Latin and is structured as a one-partite academic text-unit. The choice of Latin for the charter was not a reflection of the local situation but more of European traditions, which, in turn, makes it particularly formulaic in style. The formulaic expressions and sentences used there were quite common in most academic legislative texts, the terminology of which had remained in Latin, such as allocutions to the king, rector and professors in the introductory clause (as given here, but mostly in the content part as in many other legislative texts):

/.../ *Nos Gustaphus Adolphus Dei Gratia ... /.../*
(We, Gustavus Adolphus, By The Grace of God...)

Verbs in the first person plural (which is a practice used almost exclusively in the charter), such as *significamus* (*we announce to...*), and formulaic expressions in the ending clause containing adverbials of time, place, and a signatory,

⁵⁷ Johan Skytte (senior) besides being the Governor-General of Livonia, Ingria and Carelia, was also a baron of Tuutarhovi in Ingria, a legal advisor of the Swedish king as well as having retained the position of chancellor in the University of Uppsala from 1622.

⁵⁸ As a humanist, J. Skytte insisted on enabling free education to all the classes of society, including the sons of peasants. The Gymnasium of Dorpat was opened in 1630 and regarding its structure it stood rather close to the succeeding University, i.e. it was similarly divided into several faculties, students were taught in the form of lectures and disputes, and, most significantly, the language of education was almost exclusively Latin. As a difference, before the students were well-prepared for matriculation to the university, they were required to pass three (lower) stages of elementary education, in which the language of education varied. The first stage was called Elementary (also German) school where teaching was exclusively in German (as the name itself indicates). The second stage was Trivial (also Latin) school where the language of education varied between German in the first classes, and Latin in the higher ones. In the last – Gymnasium – the language of education was exclusively Latin (cf. Laul 1989: 40; Talve 2005: 177).

e.g. *manu Nostrâ subscripsimus* (*We have signed [this solemn Diploma] with Our own hand*) were also often used.

As the charter among its other functions is considered to be the first privilege of *Academia Dorpatensis*, it strongly emphasises the importance of designating the same privileges to the Academy of Dorpat as were given to the Academia of Uppsala (cf. *Livonica* II, vol. 475; Mikelsaar 2005: 16–17, 34–35):

/.../ Et cum nullae societates sine suis privilegijs consistere possint, Academiae nostrae Dorpatensi, eiusdemque membris tam Docentibus quam Discentibus eadem privilegia atque immunitates, quibus Academia nostra Ubsaliensis gaudet, adeo quidem, atque si verbotenus huic Diplomati nostro essent inserta, ex plenitudine potestatis damus, concedimus atque largimur /.../

(And as no society can exist without privileges, we give, concede and present from our sovereignty to our Academy of Dorpat and its members, both to Teachers and Learners, the same privileges and immunities that delight our Academy of Uppsala, and with the same validity as if they would have been inserted into this Diploma).

Nevertheless, the foundation charter being written exclusively in Latin and read out loud on the university's inauguration day, the academe of the *Academia Dorpatensis* in its beginnings was not receptive to monolingual Latin texts in the legal sphere. One indication of this was the necessity to make this important text accessible as well as understandable to larger audiences inside and outside of the university. In fact, this *relatio* was written by command of the king of Sweden, as it occurs from the text by Menius (cf. Menius 1632: 32–33):

/.../ Als hab ich (gönts Gott) auff befelich Ihr: Königl: May: höchstgedacht/ bey mir beschlossen/ künfftig den 15. Octobris dieses 1632. Jahres publice dieselb zu installiren, Männiglichen dadurch kunbahr zu machen /.../

(As I (in favour of the Holy God) by the command of the Royal Majesty, have decided to declare publicly on October 15 in 1632, and to inform you all...).

The first professor of history and antiquities (1632–1636) at the *Academia Gustaviana*, Friedrich Menius, has written down the inaugural ceremony of the Academy after the event in 1632, published it a few years later in 1635,⁵⁹ and in this *relatio* gave a multilingual alternation of the foundation charter,⁶⁰ close to

⁵⁹ F. Menius' treatise was published in 1635, describing the Academy's inauguration which took place a couple of years earlier, in 1632. It has been claimed that the main purpose of this work was foremost to introduce *Academia Dorpatensis* to the Swedish realm. The comments that have been made on his linguistic performance in the treatise are rather scarce, mentioning both interesting "language mixing", and Latin and Low German influences on it (Sak 1997b: 76–77).

⁶⁰ Cf. Friedrich Menius 1632. *Jutustus Tartu ülikooli inauguratsioonist*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus (translated and commented by K. Sak). In German: *Relatio von Inauguration der Universität zu Dörpat, geschehen den 15. Octobris, im Jahr 1632*; the translation of the *relatio* is given on its pages 46–53.

the authentic word order. Even as the matrix language of the alternation is German, the result, however, is not just a monolingual German text translated from one language into another, but one of the very first examples of multilingual practices in the entire academic production of the *Academia Dorpatensis*.

The length of this multilingual alternation of the foundation charter is 702 words, of which 23 are Latin interpolations to the German matrix text. This means that every 30th word has been left in Latin. The second half of the content part of the writing, which is dedicated explicitly to describing the importance of giving the privileges to *Academia Dorpatensis*, consists of 379 words, which is approximately 54% of the whole, and, in turn, comprises slightly more of the Latin interpolations, all in all 14 words (i.e. every 27th word is in Latin).

All of the interpolations are nouns varying in cases where they were used for terminological purposes, e.g. *privilegia, privilegiis; diplomae, negotiis, salaria, datum, Junij, anno*, as well as some rather formulaic words referring mostly to the Academy, e.g. *Academia, Academiae, Academiam, studium, gymnasium*, and professors (e.g. *professores*). All of the Latin interpolations can, in fact, be considered examples of congruent lexicalizations, as they have been used within the German matrix language text as German words that also follow the grammar rules of the matrix language.

In contrast to the more common multilingual texts in which the embedded language segments vary in length, here all the Latin interpolations are single-word terms used most often to reflect the formulaic language terminology that is known to all.

The authentic Latin text has been alternated by Menius into a multilingual text so that the words which have remained in Latin amongst the German-matrix text are exactly at the same syntactical position as in the monolingual original Latin text. For example:

*/.../ Cum autem existimaverimus nostrarum esse partium, clementiam Regiam indies augere, ad humillimas preces praefati D[omi]ni Johannis Skytte in eadem civitate Dorpatensi **Academiam** sive Universitatem, in qua **studium** vigeat generale, /.../*

The equivalent part in Menius' *relatio* is as follows (cf. Sak 1997b: 46–47):

*/.../ Als haben wir auff unterhänigste Bitte obgedachten H. John Skytte, in selbiger Stadt Dörpat eine **Academiam** oder Universität (in welche das all-gemeine **Studium**, /.../*

In addition all of the Latin interpolations comprising the terminology are examples of lexically congruent intrasentential code-switches.

1.2.2. Constitutions

The second group of monolingual texts are the constitutions.⁶¹ A constitution was an ordinance designated to a university comprising all the decrees and regulations for how as an institution it should be governed. It fixed the privileges of the university's different officials (incl. professors, students etc.), how both disputations and lectures were supposed to be held, and so on.⁶²

The extant original constitutions from the 17th century University of Dorpat total two: one from the *Academia Gustaviana* period (c. 1650) and the other from the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* period (1690).

In addition to the authentic constitutions, an additional rather identical translation from the second constitution exists. In the following sub-section of this chapter, the constitutions will be referred to as the ConsL1 from the AG, and ConsL2 refers to the AGC Latin equivalent and ConsS1 to its Swedish translation. Both of the original constitutions differed just slightly in their content from the contemporary constitution of Uppsala University (which had been designated at first in 1626, and later modified in 1655). Due to slight differences in the versions of the constitution, the latter can be considered to be revised versions of the genuine texts of Uppsala University, differing only in their lengths. In addition, despite their different proportions, even the shortest of the constitutions has the same content.

In terms of the linguistic performance of the content of the texts, all of the constitutions are monolingual manuscripts. The one from the first period, written during *Academia Gustaviana* around the year 1650, is a 75-page text written exclusively in Latin, kept in the University of Tartu Library.⁶³ The other original from the second period (both from 1690) is also written in Latin with the second version written exclusively in Swedish (both kept in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm). The authentic Latin-written version of the AGC constitution is 142 and its translation into Swedish 144 pages long.⁶⁴

⁶¹ The term “constitution” derives from the Latin word “constitutio” that, in turn, derives from the verb “constituere” (to put, set, place something) meaning, as a whole, “a body of fundamental principles” or “established precedents according to which state or other organisation is acknowledged to be governed”.

⁶² Nevertheless, the constitution of *Academia Gustaviana* (nor the following ones) does not designate the language of disputing, E.-L. Jaanson in her bibliography claims the language of academic (especially printed) materials to be Latin (cf. Jaanson 2000: 38, 53).

⁶³ The first constitution of *Academia Gustaviana* was edited only in 1997 (translated and commented on by Kristi Sak), providing a parallel text to the Latin original (on the left side) and Estonian translation (on the right side), and compendious commentary after the text itself. It is kept in the MRBD in fond 7, vol. 1.

⁶⁴ As mentioned before, the constitutions are the lengthiest legislative texts on account of the number of words, constituting as much as 44.6%, and from all of the monolingual writings as much as 87.6% being by far the most compendious group of (monolingual) legislative texts. The constitution used in *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* is kept in MRBD in fond 7, vol. 2; the following ones from the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm are kept in the fond Livonica II, vol. 453 and vol. 454, respectively.

Of the texts kept in Sweden, the constitution written in Latin is a genuine copy and the one in Swedish is its authentic exemplar. However, it is not known which of the constitution exemplars from *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* was written first – the one in Latin or in Swedish. It is interesting here that the Swedish exemplar that is an exact copy of its Latin original (from 1690) contains not a single word or phrase in Latin, resembling the aforementioned French model of producing legislative texts entirely in a vernacular.

The fact that the originals of the foundation charter and the constitutions are exclusively monolingual can be explained by the 17th century University of Dorpat practice of producing most of its legislative documents on the example of Uppsala University, so that the samples from Dorpat were rather genuine copies rewritten word by word using exemplary texts from Uppsala. In addition, although there are no multilingual practices in those texts, there are still recognisable Latin word-stems that have been transferred from Latin to Swedish.

Due to this, these central monolingual legislative documents were rather formulaic in style and used Latinised terminology within all the legislative texts. Therefore, the aim of the following sub-chapter 1.3. is to find out how typical this writing practice was of using a formulaic style and Latinized terminology in multilingual legislative texts.

1.3. Multilingual legislative texts

The corpus of all of the extant multilingual legislative text-units is 79, of which 41 are extant from the AG and 38 from the AGC period. Almost half of them – 34 – are imprints and 45 manuscripts. The majority of them are regulations and degrees – 54, followed by Royal privileges with 29 text-units.

In terms of their linguistic performance under the term “multilingual legislative texts”, the text-units written in more than one language, most often in Latin and some vernacular(s), are considered. In most cases, the frame language of a text is a vernacular – either Swedish (in 71 text-units) or more seldom German (in eight text-units), and the embedded language is Latin to which the legislative terminology is interpolated.

1.3.1. Royal privileges

There is a group of Royal Privileges or, to be more precise, prerogatives given to the University of Dorpat from the King of Sweden.⁶⁵ The need to give privileges was already designated in the University’s foundation charter (cf. 1.2.1. above), and were to a great extent taken over from the privileges of the Academy of Uppsala. They were granted to *Academia Dorpatensis* by the

⁶⁵ The word “privilege” itself derives from the Latin word “*praerogative*” meaning “a right or a privilege exclusive to a particular individual or group”. In this study, the university is considered to be the institution that the aforementioned “group” can refer to.

Swedish reign (confirmed in 1635, 1647, 1654, and 1690), and guaranteed the university considerable autonomy both in its administration and academic work.

The most important privileges designated to *Academia Dorpatensis* among them all were as follows:

- (1) the Consistory of the University had the right to present the king nominations for the chancellorship;
- (2) the Consistory together with the vice-chancellor had the right to select and present professor candidates to the king for confirmation;
- (3) the University had the right to teach all the common arts, foreign languages and different sciences;
- (4) the University had the right to award academic degrees (e.g. baccalaureate, master, doctor);
- (5) both the students and professors and officials of the university were freed from all taxes and duties to the city etc. (cf. Inno 1972: 31–32).

All the privileges are manuscripts and are kept in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm.⁶⁶

Among all the extant legislative texts as a whole, the privileges constitute approximately a quarter – there are 29 texts out of 116, and as much as 25 texts out of those 29 are multilingual, and four are monolingual. All of them contain Swedish as the ML with a number of Latin interpolations. However, there is not a single (extant) example in which German is mixed with Latin; 16 of them are preserved from the AG and nine from the AGC period.

1.3.2. Regulations and decrees

Besides the aforementioned text types, there is a number of different regulations decreed from the university's Consistory as well as from the Governor-General of Livonia.⁶⁷ This sub-group comprises the majority of all of the legislative texts, totalling 83 out of 116 texts. Besides being the most numerous sub-group – 70.7% of all of the legislative texts – this is the only one also comprising a number of printed texts in addition to manuscripts. In total, there were 54 multilingual legislative regulations and degrees, of which 25 are extant from the AG and 29 from the AGC period. The vast majority of all of them are written in Swedish matrix with some Latin interpolations – 46 text-units (22 extant from the AG and 24 from the AGC period); 29 of them are imprints – 15 from the AG and 14 from the AGC period. Yet, there are eight text-units – three from the AG and five from the AGC period – in which German is used as the matrix

⁶⁶ The Royal Privileges are kept in the Livonica II catalogue volume 460 in the National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm.

⁶⁷ Regulations are rules and/or directives made and maintained by the authority, and designated to the institution to be followed.

language and Latin as the embedded language. Of these there are five imprints – two from the Academy’s first, and three from the second period.

In terms of word counts, on the other hand, the proportion of mono- and multilingual texts are almost equal – 37.1% (i.e. 24,264 words out of 65,435) of the texts are monolingual, and 37.5% (i.e. 7,588 words out of 20,236) are multilingual texts.

The average length of the texts is 1–2 pages. In structural terms, the regulations are either bi- or occasionally tripartite. In most cases they do not have a clearly discernable introductory part, but the introductory allocutions are written at the beginning of the content. It only differs from the content part by the fact that it is predominantly written in capital letters. Text-units with either structure comprise also a content part, which is followed by the closing part in which the date, place and the author of the text have been written. The last part is mostly also visually distinguishable from the content part.

Similar to the other legislative texts, which were designated to the Academy as a whole for its entire existence, different regulations were designated throughout *Academia Dorpatensis*, and also for the whole institution. The period for which the regulation was in force depended on its type, whether the regulation was decreed for local purposes or, again, for the entire university.

1.3.3. The frequency and characteristics of multilingual practices in academic legislative text-units

The average length of an academic multilingual legislative text from the 17th century varies on the basis of sub-group types and most often remains between 1–2 pages, and occasionally reaching up to six pages, depending greatly on the author’s handwriting and style as well as the languages used (which, in turn, determine the font) and the function of the text. As legislative texts tend to be more formulaic and concise due to their purpose, most of the texts are rather short, and therefore are comparable with other more administrative text-units in comparison with many other text groups.

The common practice in multilingual legislative texts, that constitute over 46% of all of the legislative text-units and 23.5% on account of all the words given⁶⁸, is that a vernacular, Swedish or German, is used as the matrix language (ML) providing the text with a frame and is thus the dominant language, and Latin is almost exclusively used as a standardised language for terminology and is denominated as an embedded language (EL), being the minority language of the text (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993; Callahan 2004). In most cases (in 46 multilingual text-units out 54, or c. 68%), Swedish is mixed with Latin where the vernacular is considered the matrix language and Latin the embedded language.

⁶⁸ The total number of multilingual legislative text-units is 53, constituting as much as 46% of all the texts, and the amount of monolingual (almost exclusively prints) texts is 63 which is approximately 54% of all of the texts.

This pattern is followed by German-Latin mixed texts on eight occasions (out of 54 text-units), or c. 30% where German is again the ML and Latin the EL.

1.3.4. Case study: multilingual practices in the academic regulation by Johan Skytte in 1633

1.3.4.1. Length, frequency, quantity and distribution of languages

The length of one of the first academic regulations chosen for the current case study of *Academia Dorpatensis* written by Johan Skytte on 1 March in 1633 is just a single page of tight thorough text. This document is a regulation that was sent out as a public letter addressed to both officials of the University of Dorpat as well as the magistrate in order to regulate their interstitial relations on the basis of the privileges given by the Academy of Uppsala. On several occasions it emphasises the University of Dorpat as being an especially benefited and privileged legitimacy to the aforementioned Academy (cf. Vasar 1932).

In order to give a better overview of the average length, frequency, quantity and distribution of languages used in the code-switching of an academic regulation, Skytte's writing is going to be at first compared (in terms of proportions) to the other four regulations – the first two from the *Academia Gustaviana* period written by Christina, the Queen Regnant of Sweden, and the latter two from the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* period, written by both Charles XI and Charles XII, Kings of Sweden (cf. Illustration 1).⁶⁹ The regulations will be marked as RegJS, RegCr1, RegCr2, and RegCar1, RegCar2. The first abbreviation designates Skytte's writing, the following two Christina's, the second last refers to Charles XI's, and the last to Charles XII's writing. All of these are listed chronologically in the table below (see Table 1).

An interesting issue is that the matrix language (ML) in the regulations signed by Christina and Charles XI and Charles XII is Swedish, but in Skytte's the matrix language (ML) is German. In all cases, the embedded language (EL) is Latin.

⁶⁹ J. Skytte's and Christina's regulations are kept in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm in the fond called Livonica II, in vol. 446, and the regulations by Charles XI and XII in vol. 460.



Illustration 1. Regulation by John Skytte, 1633 (RA, Livonica 2, vol. 446)

The following table provides an overview of the length of the writings numerically, so that in the first position the total number of words in a certain text part is given (i.e. in the opening clause, content part and closing clause), and in the second position the number of code-switched Latin words is given (see Table 1). The division of opening and closing parts as well as content parts follows the regulations structure that in each of them is exclusively tripartite.

As evident from the table, the length of the opening clauses in RegCr1 and RegCr2 are rather short (less than ten words) and more concrete, excluding all the allocutions from the letter genre, whereas RegCar1, RegCar2 and RegJS are more than four times longer than the latter two, demonstrating lengthy introductory allocutions.

Table 1. Quantity and distribution of words in the opening, content and closing parts of exemplary academic regulations

Author	Date	Opening clause	Content part	Closing clause
RegJS	1 March, 1633	38/0	427/17	6/3
RegCr1	19 August, 1640	6/0	280/0	3/0
RegCr2	27 November, 1640	9/0	460/14	6/2
RegCar1	12 April, 1694	39/0	129/7	3/3
RegCar2	25 May, 1702	39/0	278/6	3/3

In the Queen's regulations, the introductory parts are also written in a single line, whereas Skytte's introductory formula, on the contrary, is divided into three separate lines, and those of Charles XI and XII even into five or six lines. In addition, none of the decrees comprises any other language but the vernacular Swedish in the opening parts in Christina's and Charles XI's and XII's regulations, and German in Skytte's writing.

The opening clause in RegCr1 and RegCr2 constitutes only as little as 2% and 1.9% of the whole text's length, while in the RegJS, the equivalent is 8%, and in RegCar1 and RegCar2 it is 22.9% and 12.1% of the content, respectively.

The length of the content parts varies greatly between the writings. The length of RegCr2 and RegJS is rather similar – between 427 and 460 words, while the others are shorter by almost half (i.e. RegCr1 and RegCar2), and finally, one is more than three times shorter (i.e. RegCar1).

When analysing the amount and use of code-switching according to the number of words within those parts, slight differences appear in terms of the linguistic performance that occurred in the opening clauses. RegCr1, for instance, is the most resistant towards any form of code-switching, resulting in having not a single occasion of language mixing similar to its opening clause whatsoever.

In the other texts RegJS, RegC2, RegCar1 and RegCar2, on the other hand, there occur slight occasions of language variation. Out of the 460 vernacular words in RegCr2, there are 14 occasions when the matrix language is interpolated with Latin (embedded language) words constituting 3% of the whole content. In RegJS, the frequency of multilingual practices used seems to be quite similar – of 427 words 17 are interpolations, constituting 4% of the content. In RegCar1, which is also the shortest regulation, the equivalent numbers are 129 words, of which seven are Latin interpolations constituting 5.4%, and from the 278 words in RegCar2, six are Latin words, the result is 2.1%. Therefore, the biggest differences in the proportions of multilingual practices occur between the Royal regulations, depending mostly on the overall length of the writing.

In addition, it became evident that in RegCr2 every 32nd word is embedded language in the main text. The equivalent development for RegJS is that every 24th word is embedded language.

RegCar1 and RegCar2 show the following patterns: in the former, every 18th word is embedded in the main text, while in the latter every 46th word is a Latin interpolation. Based on the regulations, it is evident that multilingual practices are the most scarce in RegCar2, and the most frequent in RegCr1 which, in turn, is also the shortest in length.

The linguistic situation occurring in the closing remarks does not differ notably from the text-units' opening parts. In the closing part of RegCr1, as in all the other positions, not a single occasion of code-switching occurs, resulting in being the most formal writing among these examples. In RegCr2 and RegJS, the linguistic pattern is rather similar – in the former, every third word is switched, and in the latter, every other word. RegCar1 and RegCar2, however, show the highest frequency of language change in the closing parts being written exclusively in Latin and not in vernaculars.

Taking into consideration the general formality of legislative texts, the results of having a rather low frequency of code-switching is quite a logical outcome on the basis of the five regulations analysed here.

Therefore, the writings sent by the Queen Regnant Christina were more strict in tone, being almost exclusively written in the Swedish-vernacular. This, in turn, might be considered evidence of a general understanding of Swedish at the academic level in the first period of the 17th century University of Dorpat. The missives by Skytte and Charles XI and XII, in contrast, offered more variation in linguistic performance, being more receptive towards multilingual practices. This, in turn, is reasonable when taking into account the aim of the writing – it was a public letter aimed to regulate the tense relations between the university and the magistrate of Dorpat, emphasising the privileged legitimacy of the Academy of Dorpat to the Academy of Uppsala.

1.3.4.2. Conventionalised intrasentential code-switching: different formulae and quotes as the most common examples of multilingual practices

As analysed in the previous sub-chapter, both the quantity and frequency of code-switching differed greatly in various subparts of the regulations. The introductory and ending parts of such writings tend to be the best reflectors of formulaic language, consisting mostly of Latinised adverbials to mark the time and place. When referring to the year, the Latin word *anno* was preferred to vernacularized equivalents. The same practice was used when referring to the exact month as well – being almost exclusively written in Latin forms in all the academic writings. This linguistic practice was supported by the different scripts for Latin and vernaculars, which were used to highlight the conscious use of the languages (cf. Schendl 2011: 47). Therefore, the use of those different languages in regulations are usually visually distinguishable, which, in turn,

affirms the co-ordinated use of code-switching as well as visual pragmatics (e.g. Machan 2011).

Most often, when analysing texts from the perspective of historical code-switching, the first distinction to be made is between the length of the interpolated words and/or passages. In the regulation by Skytte from 1633, the distinction has only been made between one- to three-word intrasentential switches due to the lack of any longer passages. Using longer intrasentential switches usually demonstrates the linguistic skills of the author in producing bi- or even trilingual documents with more complex linguistic structures than prefabricated formulae. Yet, not a single occasion of intersentential code-switching – a practice rather common in some other types of academic texts, for instance in occasional poems (cf. chapters 4 and 5) – occurs in regulations.

As an exemplary specimen, the regulation by Johan Skytte was sent out in 1633 as a public letter addressed to a larger readership, who quite likely were not highly educated or had not passed gymnasium nor university stages, and so it is a logical outcome for it to have only very short Latin interpolations. In the regulation by Skytte, multilingual practices occur in every part of the text; that is, in the opening, content and closing part. Unlike the adverbials in EL used in the resolutions of the opening and ending clauses, the main text provides a considerably larger variety of language-mixing.

When drawing on Toribio and Bullock's concept of the "matrix" system and taking into consideration that the switches in the main texts are rather multifaceted and differ from the other parts of the texts, code-switching in the regulation can be considered as a cognisant language choice on the part of the author (cf. Toribio and Bullock 2009: 14–17).

However, the linguistic performance of the embedded language in the content section of Skytte's regulation is not as adverbial as in the ending clauses, but remains still quite formulaic. For example, mainly references to the university members (i.e. the rector, professors and students), as well as to the Consistory have been made, mostly using nouns, fixed Latin equivalents or Latin verbs for governing the institution.

When referring to the Consistory of the Academy or to its members, the Latinised shifts can be called "conventionalised" code-switches, used occasionally throughout the legislative texts and other types as well, even without making its exact meaning understandable to the people living in the academic society (cf. Muysken 2000: 247–249).

There are three types of conventionalised switches in RegJS: different allocutions, terminology from the academe, and quotations. The first type dominates and comprises the following:

- 1) allocation to the rector: in order to refer to the rector, a two-word allocation is used only once within the regulation. The rector is addressed as *Magnifico Rectori*;

- 2) consistory-allocation: also a two-word fixed term referring to the Consistory of the Academy as *senatu academico: Senatu Academico Ordinario* (of the Academy's Ordinary Consistory).
- 3) student-allocation: just once a single-word is used in order to distinguish and emphasise a student – *studiosus* – as an important member of the academy;
- 4) (academy) member-allocation: another address is used towards the Academy members – *Academiae membris*.

The second type of conventionalised switches are terminology belonging to the Academy. Here the only example involves using such a term when referring to the Academy's treasury:

/.../ Fisco Academiae, zum guten kommen/.../.

Here the dative case form of **Fisco** from the Latin *fiscus* is used (“woven-basket”; hence “a money-basket”, “purse”). It is followed by the Latin word *Academiae* used in the genitive case showing possessive relations. The Latin phrase, in turn, is a part of a sentence in the German-matrix ending with “zum guten kommen” (so the good might avail) and congruent lexicalization is also evident.

The third type – quotation – is presented just once in *manifestis delictis* (“legal delicts”/“in evident crime/transgression”).⁷⁰ Using a quotation is a rather unconventional practice for legal texts compared to other resolutions in Table 1, and it is more common to be used in more literary text genres. However, as the content of the citation refers more to the jurisprudential, such a practice is well justified.

1.4. Conclusion

The analysis of the sub-group of legislative texts produced in the 17th century University of Dorpat allows us to demonstrate that the range of academic texts under the general denominator “legislative” is not very high, only 116 texts of which 71 are manuscripts and 45 printed texts. From all of the extant academic written heritage (total of 7,831 text-units), it constitutes only as little as 1.5%.

Despite the rather scant proportion of the corpus, this sub-group's significant function as the university's fundamental documents as well as its important content was referred to quite often, and they were potential samples of all the text types for making linguistic choices in the academic sphere. Therefore, a hypothesis could be stated that the linguistic practices used within the corpus of legislative academic texts, function as an example for all other academic text groups.

⁷⁰ The quotation is commonly used in legal, especially canonical texts of Protestants (especially by Philipp Melanchthon), referring to “legal delicts” (e-mail correspondence with Hesi Siimets-Gross on 20 June 2015).

Shorter regulations, privileges and different decrees, which were created especially for *Academia Dorpatensis*, appeared to be documents that were most receptive towards multilingual practices. The central legislative texts, which were not composed in Dorpat, but given by the Swedish King (the foundation charter) or taken over from Uppsala University in Sweden (the constitutions), remained exclusively monolingual. The terminology concerning formulae, such as different allocutions (to the rector, Consistory, professors, Academy as a whole) remained in Latin as the embedded language throughout the texts in which German or Swedish were the matrix language.

On a more personal level, the local linguistic practices in the legislative sphere were shaped and institutionalised by two well-known men of the Academy – Friedrich Menius and Johan Skytte. On the one hand, Skytte can clearly be considered the initiator of using multilingual practices in academic legislative text writing on the basis of his exemplary regulations. From the local scholars, on the other hand, the professor of history and antiquities of *Academia Gustaviana*, Menius, was confessedly the one using multilingual practices while providing a multilingual text-alternation from the original legislative Latin text into German as the matrix language, preserving its legal terminology in Latin.

Therefore, despite the 16th century trend (French model) of using monolingual texts in legal systems, in the early modern period of *Academia Dorpatensis*, there seemed to appear two linguistic practices which were used in parallel. The first, and the more popular practice, was to adopt the multilingual legislation method,⁷¹ preserving attested Latin legal terminology in a rather formulaic vernacular-based frame text, whereas the other practice was to compose exclusively monolingual legislative documents, mainly in Latin.

⁷¹ In contrast to the 17th century Svea Court of Appeal (*Svea hövrätt*), which was considered a prototype to all the other such courts in Sweden and in its provinces (including Dorpat), in the Dorpat court, the hearings were not held in Swedish as was the more common practice, but in German instead, but the legal terminology (*termini technici*) remained in Latin (cf. Tuchtenhagen 2006: 378).

2. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS FROM *ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS*

2.1. Overview of mono- and multilingual text corpus

The present chapter focuses on the handwritten as well as printed academic text-units produced for administrative purposes at the Academy during both the AG and the AGC periods.⁷² Amongst all of the text-units explored in the present chapter, the distinction between mono- as well as multilingual text-units will be made. All of the different texts will, in turn, be divided between five major groups that might also be further divided into smaller sub-groups. The basis for such a distinction includes the main objectives as well as characteristics of each text type that are divided into the following groups:

- (1) Consistory protocols⁷³ (from both the AG and AGC periods),

⁷² In the present chapter the term “administrative documents” is used in order to indicate all the extant academic text-units that are related to the regulating of the everyday work of the Academy, except for the juridical and financial documents that are discussed in chapters one and three, respectively. According to the Cambridge English Dictionary, the term “administrative” is defined as follows: “relating to the arrangements and work that is needed to control the operation of a plan or organization”. In accordance with the different aspects of the everyday functioning of the Academy, the content of the research material in this chapter is much more variable than in the other text groups of this thesis. The common line between all of the sub-groups of this chapter is that they contain texts which could be seen as practical tools in administrating the university at the level of the chancellor, rector and Consistory.

⁷³ The Consistory protocols comprise all the extant protocols from both the Academy’s Upper (*maius*) as well as Lower (*minus*) Consistory (*Consistorium*, also called *Senatus*). The Upper Consistory, comprising all of the ordinary professors, was presided over by the rector and the sessions focused mainly on the affairs of the Academy, protecting the Academy’s Constitution, jurisdiction as well as its authority, including issues considering physical violence etc. The Lower Consistory, on the other hand, comprised the rector and one representative from each faculty (except for the Faculty of Philosophy which was represented by two) who discussed all the other issues concerning the Academy, students etc., as attested in chapter III of the first Constitution of the Academy from 1650: /.../ 1. *S.^a R.^a M.^{as} benignissime concedit, ut duo sint academiae senatus vel duo Consistoria: alterum majus seu publicum ex omnibus ordinariis Professoribus constans, alterum minus. 2. Hoc minus Consistorium erit ordinarium, constitutum ex aliquot Professoribus ordinariis probatissimis viris ... 4. Eorum officium erit partim generale, partim singulare: generale, ut res Academiae dirigant, statuta ejusdem et privilegia et jurisdictionem sua auctoritate asserant. 5. Speciale erit, Rectori vocanti adesse; lites academicae gravioris disceptare; Professores, studiosos et coetera academiae membra in officio continere; Rectorem quoque ipsum, cum necesse erit, humaniter sui officii admonere omninoque, ut omnes res et partes academiae recte nec ei quicquam decedat. 6. Majus Consistorium jus habebit α) eligendi Rectorem β) eligendi et nominandi Professore γ) de eorum, qui publice publicis stipendiis docent,*

- (2) Protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy⁷⁴ (extant only from the AGC period),
- (3) *Matricula*⁷⁵ (extant from both the AG and AGC periods),
 - a) *Matricula* of students, i.e. student register (from both the AG and the AGC periods),
 - b) *Matricula* of deposition (from the AG period),
- (4) Judicial documents⁷⁶ (extant from both the AG and the AGC periods),

*si vel in doctrina vel [in] vita juste reprehendi possint, emendatione aut coercitione deliberandi, remque ad Cancellarium deferendi, ut is super illo negotio decidat δ) si periculosae et turbulentae dissentiones incidant, eas cognoscendi et dijudicandi ε) Majores denique criminales causas /.../. The protocols are completely extant from the AGC period, and almost exclusively from the AG period with protocols missing from the periods of April 1634 to 1637 and November 1640 to October 1644 (cf. Inno 1972: 36; Piirimäe 1982: 9–10; Piirimäe 1985: 27). All of them are kept in MRBD in fond 7, so that the AG protocols cover volumes 3–23, and the ones from the AGC period volumes 24–29. The Consistory protocols from the first and the second decade of the AG period were first published as a collection provided with a translation into Estonian and a commentary by Arvo Tering: (1) in 1978 the first part entitled as *Tartu Ülikooli (Academia Gustaviana) senati protokollid I, 1632–1634. Konsistoriumsprotokolle der Universität Dorpat (Academia Gustaviana)*; (2) and the second part in 1994 *Tartu Ülikooli (Academia Gustaviana) senati protokollid II, 1637–1644. Konsistoriumsprotokolle der Universität Dorpat (Academia Gustaviana)*. The digitized version of the latter edition is also available: <http://dspace.ut.ee/handle/10062/17348> [accessed 15 August 2017].*

⁷⁴ The protocols of the Faculty of Philosophy provide also a duplicated copy of them. They are similar to many other texts in the material of this chapter, kept in MRBD in fond 7, volumes 30 (the original) and 31 (the copy).

⁷⁵ *Matricula*, i.e. the student register, is one of the most important administrative documents that provides lists of all of the students who were officially matriculated to the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*. In addition to the traditional student registers, there was also a *matricula* of deposition, extant only from the AG period, that comprised the lists of all of the students that went through the ceremony of deposition. In fact, there are a number of students that were not included in the student register, but only the deposition book, but it is rather hard to estimate the exact number of all of the students that studied in the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* (for more see Piirimäe 1982: 10–11). All of the *matricula* are kept in MRBD in fond 7, the student registers are kept in volumes 32 (from the AG) and 34 (from the AGC), and the *matricula* of deposition in volume 33. A revised edition with additional information about the student register from the AG as well as the AGC period was published by Arvo Tering in 1984 entitled *Album Academicum der Universität Dorpat (Tartu) 1632–1710*. Tallinn: Valgus.

⁷⁶ The phrase “judicial documents” is a denominator for all of the texts produced in either AG or AGC that are connected to different disquisitions in litigations concerning the students and/or professors of the Academy. They are composed by the Consistory as answers to the student(s), and to the professors as the complaints or accusatory letters. The judicial documents are kept in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm, in fond Livonica II in volumes 451 (those from the AG) and 473 and 474 (those from the AGC). However, all the proceedings relating to litigations between professors that were solved in the High Court of Dorpat, have not been integrated with the data in this chapter.

- (5) Official ordinances and patents⁷⁷ (extant from both the AG and AGC periods).⁷⁸

All these five text groups produced within the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* represent different kinds of administrative documents. For instance, the practice of creating Consistory as well as all other protocols, *Matricula*, judicial documents as well as a number of different ordinances and patents is taken over from the early modern University of Uppsala that was the direct example for the *Academia Dorpatensis*. The Consistory, which included assembled professors amongst which the rector was elected for a semester,⁷⁹ was the most important administrative as well as judicial body of the Academy. The rector also chaired the Consistory sessions (cf. Inno 1972: 37–38; Lindroth 1976: 40).

In the following, a statistical as well as descriptive overview of this chapter's data, including the linguistic performance of the text-units in each sub-group will be given.

The total number of all of the extant administrative documents from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* is 1,334 text-units, which constitutes about 17% of the entire corpus of the present thesis (i.e. from 7,831 text-units) and thus comprises about one-sixth of the entire material studied in the thesis. The majority of all of the administrative text-units – 1,022 or 76% – are preserved from the AGC, and the remaining 312 or 24% of the AG period. The vast majority of the administrative documents are in fact manuscripts with an total number of 1,290 text-units or about 97%, while the equivalent proportion of the exclusively printed text-units is 44 which in turn constitutes just 3% of this chapter's corpus material.

When distinguishing between the mono- and multilingual text-units from both periods, the AG period contains as many as 212 monolingual text-units, while the AGC has 497. The general total of monolingual administrative documents from the Academy is therefore 709 comprising about 53% of the whole corpus of the material for this chapter. Of these 38 text-units are printed texts and a single text is extant from the AG and 37 from the AGC period.

⁷⁷ The sub-group of the official ordinances and patents incorporates all the extant printed texts comprising different announcements or ordinances addressing either the staff or the students of the Academy or the populace, written either by the rector of the Academy or by the Vice-Governor of Livonia, Gustav Adolf Strömfeld (1690–1710), who is also the author of the vast majority of such extant texts. The greater number of all of these documents are extant from the AGC period and are kept in MRBD in fond R Acad. Dorp, and some in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm in fond Livonica II, in volumes 450, 462, 463, 474.

⁷⁸ The vocations of the new professors and the other officials at the academy will not be analysed in this chapter, but in chapter 6 instead, among all the other letters, due to their letter-like structure and function.

⁷⁹ At the beginning of the AG period, the rector was elected for a semester either on 1 May or 1 November. However, according to the resolution of the regency council of Christina of Sweden from 1638, the rector was elected for a full year (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 50).

The analogous proportion for multilingual text-units from the AG period is 100 and from the AGC 525. The overall amount of multilingual text-units is therefore 625, which is also about 47% of the whole corpus of material from this chapter. From all of them just six text-units are in fact printed – three preserved from the AG and three from the AGC period.

Rather remarkably, the proportion of mono- and multilingual text-units within this corpus data (i.e. within the *Academia Dorpatensis* as a whole) is almost equal – a practice rather unique in comparison to the text-units in other chapters. When analysing the linguistic performance of both of the periods separately, however, it occurs that the linguistic preferences were absolutely different. Namely, during the AG period the majority of the administrative documents were monolingual (212 vs 100 text-units, respectively), while during the AGC period the proportion of mono- and multilingual text-units is rather the same – the slightly larger amount of all of the extant texts are multilingual (i.e. 525), and the remaining 497 are monolingual, indicating this period to be more opened towards multilingual practices.

In order to have a better overview of the given proportions, the average number of words and the length of each text-unit from all of the five sub-groups will briefly be designated. From among all of the administrative documents the largest group is the **Consistory protocols**⁸⁰ with 1,041 text-units comprising about 78% of this chapter's corpus. Of these the majority of the text-units – 812 – are extant from the AGC, and more than three times less – 229 – from the AG period. In terms of length, the protocols are about one page long folio-sized text-units. As each of them comprises about 75 words per page on average, this means that all of them comprise about 78,075 words. All of the monolingual Consistory protocols (i.e. 540) therefore comprise about 40,500 and the multilingual (i.e. 501) about 37,575 words.

Second, **judicial documents** comprise altogether 159 text-units or nearly 12% of this chapter's material. The greater number of those documents are extant from the AGC – 111 – as was the case with the Consistory protocols, and the remaining 48 are from the AG period. The average length of these documents is about half a page of either folio or quarto format. Per page there are approximately 203 words, and therefore each judicial document, in turn, com-

⁸⁰ Consistory protocols were divided into separated books so that each of them comprises one rectorate. According to the Consistory protocols of the AG period there are 21 books; in other words, extant rectorates so that up to 1638 each of them lasted about 6 months, and after that up to 12 months. However, the equivalent for the AGC period is 6 books, so that a couple of years are put together into one book; for instance, there is a single book for the period 13.12.1706 – 22.1.1709. Each rectorate in turn comprises a number of clearly distinguishable entries, which are all provided with date and content, and reflect separate events. Therefore, each of them are considered a single text-unit, so that the total number of text-units from the AG period protocols is 229, and the equivalent from the AGC is 812. This, in turn, means that during the AG period there were approximately 13 protocols per year (roughly one per month), while during the AGC period the equivalent numbers are about 40 protocols per year (and thus about four entries per month).

prises about 101 words and together, a total of 16,059. Most of the text-units – 96 – are multilingual and 63 monolingual.

Third, the **student registers (*matricula*)**⁸¹ incorporate altogether 52 text-units or 4%. The majority of them – 31 – are extant from the AG and the remaining 21 from the AGC period. The average length of an entry is about one to two pages of folio or quarto format page. Each page covers about 55 words so that the whole entry comprises 110 words. All of the entries, in turn, incorporate nearly 5,720 words, and are monolingual.

Fourth, the **official ordinances and patents** is the only sub-group of texts in this chapter that comprises only printed texts, all in all 44 text-units or 3.2% of all of the administrative documents. The majority of them – 40 – are extant from the AGC and just four from the AG period; 38 of them are mono- and six are multilingual text-units. The average length of those documents is one page when it is of folio format and one to three pages when in quarto format. Each page contains about 240 words and together totals about 10,800 words.

Fifth, the **protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy** comprise the least amount of text-units, all in all 38 or 2.8% of the data in this chapter. All of them are extant from the AGC period so that 16 are monolingual and the remaining 22, multilingual. In terms of their format they are rather similar to the Consistory protocols – one page long folio format text-units. The average amount of words per page is about 80, and together all of the entries comprise 3,040 words.

Four-fifths of the above described groups of text-units – Consistory protocols, judicial documents, official ordinances and patents and protocols from the Faculty of the Philosophy – also comprise multilingual practices, and therefore will be studied in more depth in the case studies in sub-chapter 2.3 onwards. As there is a single text type which is exclusively monolingual, and the remaining sub-groups all comprise some examples of monolingual text-units as well, they will all be briefly studied under the following sub-chapter 2.2.

2.2. Monolingual administrative documents

The total number of all of the monolingual administrative text-units produced during the *Academia Dorpatensis* is 709 or 53% being almost equal to the number of multilingual text-units. The vast majority of them – 595 or 84% – were written in Latin, so that the greater number of 389 during the AGC and the remaining 206 during the AG period. Secondly, 85 text-units were written exclusively in German – 46 during the AG and 39 during the AGC period. Lastly in 29 occasions Swedish was preferred during the AGC period.

⁸¹ As in the Consistory protocols, the *matricula* are also organized according to the rectorates. Under each of them there are exact dates and years with lists of students who matriculated to the university on the corresponding date. As here each rectorate contains up to a couple of dozen short entries, they have not been distinguished as single entries, but each rectorate corresponds to one entry instead.

The administrative documents like all the other text types (except for the text-units which will be analysed in chapter 4) have not a single precept in the Constitutions (1650, 1689) providing guidelines about neither of their linguistic performance nor structure, thus one can only assume that the extant data was created so that they followed the common patterns and practices used in other universities of that time, also taking into account the local linguistic situation to some extent.

In the following sub-chapters 2.2.1. to 2.2.5. all of the monolingual administrative documents amongst the data of this chapter will also briefly be discussed.

2.2.1. Monolingual Consistory protocols

The overall corpus of Consistory protocols comprises 1,041 text-units of which as many as 540 or 39% are exclusively monolingual. Of them about one-third, 157 text-units (30%) are extant from the AG, and the majority of 383 text-units (70%) from the AGC period. The majority of all of the monolingual text-units – 480 – are written in Latin, 152 from the AG and 328 from the AGC. By comparison, 41 protocol entries have been made exclusively in German – five from the AG and 36 from the AGC period. The remaining 19 entries from the AGC period are written in Swedish. The practice of creating monolingual Consistory protocols gradually increased towards the AGC period, and thus represents a clear evidence that despite the Swedish and German speaking professors, the most preferred language in which the Consistory sessions were held, was still Latin which was understood by all members of the Consistory.

The monolingual Consistory protocol entries do not differ in terms of length from the multilingual equivalents. However, the parts written exclusively in Latin during the AG period are usually more strict and compact representing a more resolute style provided only with questions and short answers in comparison to their counterparts from the AGC period. The latter, on the other hand, were slightly more informative with a clearer and more logical structure of the issues representing the type of protocols called *notula* in which the discussion parts were occasionally also protocolled (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 10).

The structure of the Consistory protocols, despite the used languages, is the same – bipartite. In the introductory part, each entry comprises the date, the place and the names of the participants of the Consistory session. When the entry starts with the new rectorate, the introductory part is slightly longer, comprising also the name and title of the rector as well as the period for his rectorate. However, unlike to the Consistory protocols of the AG period, the protocols from the AGC period occasionally comprised the name of the professor who held the position of the rectorate written on the upper edge of the right side (*verso*) of each sheet throughout his rectorate.

The content (part) as well as the length of the Consistory protocols varies in terms of the discussed issues from a quarter of a page up to two pages in length. When written in Latin it is often very formulaic.

2.2.2. Monolingual judicial documents

The total number of all of the judicial documents is 154, of which as many as 63 or nearly 41% are exclusively monolingual – 23 of them are extant from the AG and almost twice as many – 40 – from the AGC period. The majority of them (43) are written in Latin; 23 being from the AG and 20 from the AGC period. Ten (10) text-units are written in German and 10 in Swedish both of which are preserved from the AGC period. Similar to the Consistory protocols, which were predominantly multilingual (61%), communications with the Consistory in regard to judicial questions also remained multilingual (overall 59%).

The judicial documents comprise mostly different writings that are responses to the *epistolae accusatoriae* or *querulae* sent to the Consistory of the Academy from a student or a professor (cf. chapter 6). All of the documents are connected with some juridical issues discussed in the Consistory of the Academy.⁸² Therefore, the main function of the monolingual judicial documents was either to confirm or deny guilt.

Due to the contexts for writing such judicial documents – being written as a response to either accusatory or complaint letters – these judicial documents also follow their own structure. They are, unlike the Consistory protocols and the protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy, tripartite. This means that they most often start with a visually distinguishable introductory part that comprises allocutions to the addressee. This is followed by a longer content part comprising the summary of the decisions made in the Consistory sessions. Lastly, the closing part is added, which in most cases comprises the signature of the author as well as the date and place of its creation.

However, like the other monolingual administrative documents, these judicial documents are also in folio or occasionally quarto format, consisting of one and a quarter to half a page in length.

2.2.3. Monolingual *Matricula*: student registers and *Matricula* of deposition

The corpus of monolingual student registers differs from all the other administrative documents due to the fact that it is exclusively monolingual without an example of a multilingual entry. The overall corpus comprises 52 single text-units, of which 31 are extant from the AG and 21 from the AGC period. All of them are written in Latin.

This corpus with a denominator of *matricula* incorporates two types of registers – the official student *matricula* (i.e. registers), in which all the matriculated students were written with an exact date (day, month, year), their fore- and surname in Latinized form provided with an indication of their origin as

⁸² See more about the functions of the Consistory, incl. of the *jus judicandi* in footnote 73 above.

well. The second type of student register was called the *matricula* of deposition. Similar to the previous one, it incorporated the same initial data on the students, but in contradiction to it, the students were only listed for the *matricula* of deposition after they had passed the ceremony of deposition.⁸³ However, there were occasions in the *Academia Dorpatensis* in which students did pass the ceremony of deposition, but did not allow their name to be written in the student register, but only in the *matricula* of deposition. Therefore, these registers did not comprise an all-encompassing list of all students that ever matriculated to the Academy.

At the very beginning of the *matricula* of students before the entries, there is an excerpt from the Constitutions added, which is then followed by the oath of the students (*juramentum studiosorum*).

In terms of structure, both the *matriculae* (i.e. student register as well as the *matricula* of deposition) are bipartite – they consist of an introductory part which in most cases refers to the rather formulaic phrase written in Latin:

/.../ *Rectore ... / Professore ordinario sequentes studiosi huic matriculae nomina sua dederunt / Anno.... /.../.*

A Roman numeral was added before the word *Rectore* if the professor who held the rectorate at the time was in this position for a second time to indicate how many times he had held the position. The entries of the *matricula* were written in the content part that started with an equivalent date (month and a day) under which the students were written down in parallel rows.

The average length of an entry that is equivalent to the rectorate was about one to two folio size sheets for both types of *matricula*. Each page comprised approximately of 55 words and thus each single entry about 110–220 words. In addition, there are no indications of extra information about the students also having been written there.

2.2.4. Monolingual official ordinances and patents

Unlike to all the other sub-groups of the monolingual text-units that all comprise only of handwritten text-units, the corpus of official ordinances and patents is the only one that incorporates also the printed administrative texts from the Academy. From the overall corpus of the official ordinances and patents, which includes 44 text-units, the majority – 38 or 84% – are in fact monolingual. The greater number of all of them, i.e. 37 are extant from the AGC and just a single one from the AG period. The majority of them – 34 – are written exclusively in German and the remaining four in Latin. Not a single

⁸³ Deposition was an initiation ceremony that students had to pass. As the ceremony as a whole was degrading, it was banned from the university with the decree of Charles XI from November 25, 1691. However, it did not inure before the Consistory of the Academy had approved it as late as on December 18, 1695 (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 156, 158).

example of a monolingual ordinance nor patent is written entirely in Swedish (that might be predictable, especially in the AGC period) nor are any other vernaculars extant.

The main function of such documents was to declare the different ordinances or announcements of the rector or vice-governor to the addressees that were usually the academic staff, students or citizens. They were put up in public places, e.g. Academy's buildings etc, to be visible as well as to be followed by all (cf. Jaanson 2000: 52–53). The format of multilingual patents was folio-size and the average length one page, due to their main objective – to be put up in public place to be read by all.

In terms of structure ordinances and patents are either bi- or tripartite. In both cases these administrative documents start with a visually distinguishable introductory part, such as the title, comprising either the name or type of the ordinance with or without salutations to the possible audience. This part is followed by the main content with the exact ordinance or announcement, and, in case they are bipartite, the date of writing is not separated from the main text, but is written as the last sentence of the main text. However, on occasions these texts are tripartite, with a visually discernable closing part provided also with date.

2.2.5. Monolingual protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy

The total amount of all of the separate text-units within this sub-chapter's data is 38, and monolingual texts comprise 16 or 42% of this total. All of them are in fact extant from the AGC period and are written in Latin.

In terms of their format they are also one-page text-units of folio size similar to the remaining analogous text types.

The structure of the protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy is bipartite. They start with an introductory part which comprises a date with or without the name of the professor who holds the rectorate for the period of about a year.

The following content part is rather formulaic and similar to the Consistory protocols, which, if written in Latin, follows the common pattern of using either a resolution or *notula* form.

This overview of monolingual administrative documents showed that all but one sub-group comprise both examples of mono- as well as multilingual text-units written either as manuscripts or printed as announcements. In terms of linguistic performance, the majority of the monolingual text-units are written in Latin (595) with a number of examples of vernacular written texts, such as German (85) and Swedish (29). However, if the monolingual documents of this chapter were handwritten, they were written in Latin, but if they were printed (as patents) and aimed at a larger audience to read, they were written in a vernacular; that is, in German (which, in turn, was understood by the literate populace in the town and the region).

However, unlike to many other handwritten sub-corpora texts in the present thesis (e.g. Chapters 1, 3, 6), administrative documents are predominantly bipartite in their structure, with the exception of the sub-group of judicial documents that are mostly tripartite, and official ordinances and patents that also include some examples of texts with tripartite structure.

2.3. Multilingual administrative documents

The corpus of multilingual administrative documents comprises of both handwritten and printed text-units written in more than one language – either in Latin and a vernacular, two vernaculars or even in Latin and two vernaculars. In the printed text-units, such as some official ordinances and patents, the matrix language is utterly vernacular (i.e. German) and Latin is used as the embedded language. This practice is the total opposite of the other printed text groups from the AG and the AGC, where the matrix language is mainly Latin and the embedded language is a vernacular.⁸⁴

Manuscripts, on the other hand, show a more multifaceted use of languages. For instance, the greater part of all of the handwritten administrative documents comprises a vernacular (either German or Swedish) used as the matrix language and Latin as the embedded language, yet in some text-units the linguistic performance is just the opposite – Latin is used as the matrix language and a vernacular as the embedded language. The manuscripts provide also some examples of text-units in which three different languages have been mixed together, such as, for example, either a German matrix language that includes some Latin and Swedish or Latin and French interpolations (overall in four instances) or a Swedish matrix language includes examples of Latin and French as the embedded languages (one instance).

As all the sub-groups of the administrative documents, except for the *Matricula*, comprise a number of text-units with multilingual practices, each of them will be studied in more depth under the following sub-chapters. Under the Consistory protocols, official ordinances and patents, thorough case studies have been conducted of the most exemplary multilingual entries.

2.3.1. Multilingual Consistory protocols

2.3.1.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual Consistory protocols

The total number of all of the extant multilingual Consistory protocols from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* is 50, which constitutes about 48% of all of the Consistory protocols in the data of this chapter. The vast majority of all

⁸⁴ More about printed text-units (such as dissertations and orations) and their linguistic performance, see, for example, in chapter 4.3.4.

of the multilingual entries in the Consistory protocols (i.e. 429 text-units) are extant from the AGC period, and just 72 from the AG.

All of the multilingual entries of Consistory protocols are in fact bilingual. As many as 324 contain German as the matrix language and Latin as the embedded language. Of them 72 are extant from the AG and the majority of 252 from the AGC period; 177 entries are, on the other hand, written in Swedish as the matrix language and include some Latin interpolations, all of which are extant from the AGC period.

The fact that Swedish is used only during the AGC period Consistory sessions is a rather logical outcome, as the Consistory at that time contained mainly professors of Swedish origin, and therefore the second period of the Academy was more Swedish centred in its inner-academic affairs. However, amongst all of the Consistory protocols there is not a single example of the use of minority languages, such as French, Russian, Estonian etc., indicating the why the linguistic performance in the protocols remain rather conservative, i.e. either German-Latin or Swedish-Latin centered.

Similar to the monolingual entries, the multilingual equivalents comprise a bipartite structure. Each of them start with a date, with or without the year, occasionally also providing the exact day of the week written almost exclusively in Latin. In addition, it also comprises a list of all of the professors present at the session. The introductory part is followed by the main part of the entry, the content. Unlike most of the monolingual entries that are more strict in tone and compact, the majority of the multilingual entries, however, can be considered *notula* in the sense that longer explanations are also given.

2.3.1.2. Case study: a Consistory protocol from 1638 as an evidence of frequent multilingual practices in the everyday administration of the Academy

The entry of the Consistory protocol analysed here was written during the first rectorate of the professor of Hebrew and Greek languages, Salomo Matthiae from May 25 to October 8, 1638.⁸⁵ The exact entry chosen for the case study, however, is taken from the beginning of his rectorate and is dated to June 25, 1638 (cf. Illustration 2). The protocol was written by the professor of mathematics Joachim Warnecke,⁸⁶ who was the secretary of the Academy from May 1637 until October 1638 (cf. Tering 1994: 7).

⁸⁵ S. Matthiae held the position of rector three times, in 1638, 1645 and 1650 (cf. Inno 1972: 88). The entry is written to the protocol book kept in MRBD in fond 7 volume 7.

⁸⁶ Joachim Warnecke was a German who kept the positions of the secretary as well as the professor of mathematics during the 1632–1638 (cf. Inno 1972: 86–87; Piirimäe 1982: 40). The origin (and thus the mother tongue) of the professor who as a rector presided the Consistory sessions and also protocolled them, might have influenced the language choice of the protocols as well. However, as the entries of the Consistory protocols have not been studied

In structural terms, it is similar to the other multilingual Consistory protocol entries from *Academia Dorpatensis*, being bipartite and written in a *notula*-form provided with more detailed explanations.

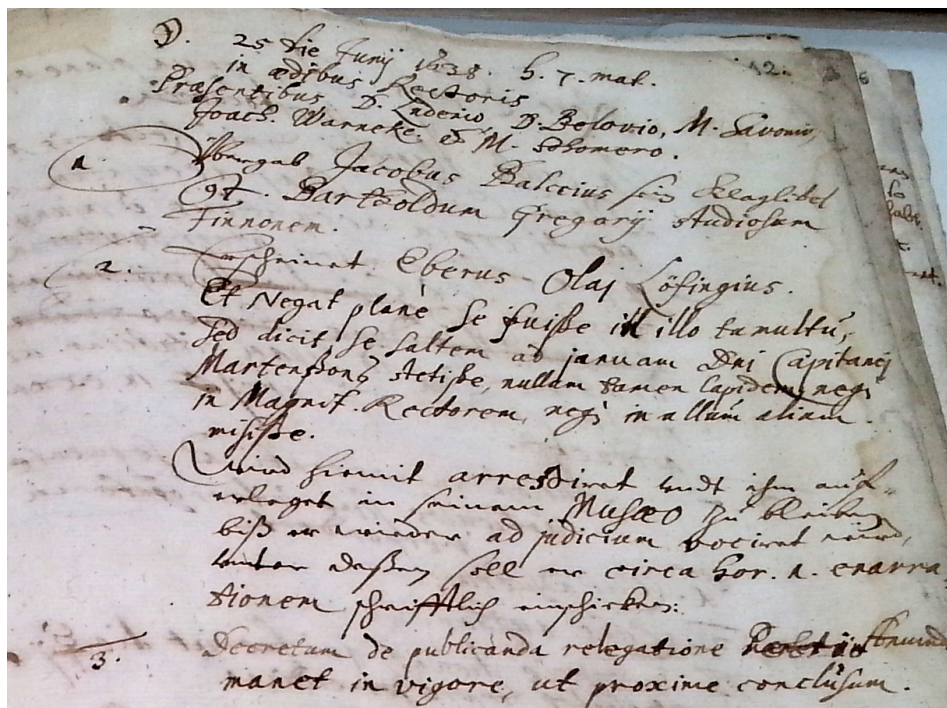


Illustration 2. A multilingual entry in the Consistory protocol from June 25 1638 (MRBD, Fond 7, vol. 7)

The main part of this entry comprises of three agenda items so that in each of them different issues considering a different student are discussed. In the first, student Jacobus Balccius⁸⁷ indicted his letter of complaint on a fellow student, a Finn Bartholdus Gregorii⁸⁸ to the Consistory; in the second, student Eberus Olai Löfingius⁸⁹ is accused of throwing a stone towards the rector and other officials, and despite the fact that the defendant denies of being guilty, he still was

in depth from the linguistic point of view before, it is potential study material for the researches yet to come.

⁸⁷ Jacobus Balccius was from Greifswald and matriculated to the AGC on March 11, 1636 (cf. Tering 1984: 160, entry no 181).

⁸⁸ Bartholdus (Gregorii) Cardiastr was a Finn and matriculated to the AG on 11 October 1637 (cf. Tering 1984: 175, entry no 265).

⁸⁹ Eberus Olai Löfingius was a Swede from Kalmar and matriculated to the AG as early as on 2 May 1632 (cf. Tering 1984: 135, entry no 18).

arrested; and, in the third, an ordinance about the exmatriculation of a student Petrus Anundi⁹⁰ from the Academy came into force.

The overall length of the entire entry is 104 words out of which the majority – 79 words, i.e. 76% – are written in Latin and the rest of 25, i.e. 24% in German. Therefore, in this entry as a whole, Latin is the matrix language and German is used for interpolations and therefore is the embedded language.

As this entry follows the structure of bipartite entries, two parts are also visually distinguishable and thus clearly separated from one another.

The entry starts with an introductory part, i.e. an informative title written exclusively in Latin, which provides an exact date of the Consistory session – the date is 25 June 1638, a Monday, and even more definite, at seven a clock in the morning:

/.../ Die Lunae 25. die Junij 1638 h[ora] 7 mat[utina] /.../.

The given part is written utterly in Latin as, in fact, in all the other analogous multilingual entries as well, and consists of six words.

Right below the title there is a short description written utterly in Latin providing the exact place of the session, i.e. the rector's house, and a list of professors who attended it:

/.../ in aedibus Rectoris Praesentibus D. Ludenio, D. Belovio, M. Savonio, Joach[imo] Warneke et M. Schomero. /.../.

This part consists of 15 words and similar to the title it is monolingual and rather formulaic. All in all the introductory part is exclusively written in Latin and consists of 21 words or about 20% from the whole entry. The whole introductory part is visually discernable from the following content part because the following part is divided into agenda items separated from one another using a numeral written further from the items.

The content part is the longest, consisting altogether of 83 words, of which as many as 58 words or about 70% are written in Latin and 25 or about 30% in German, which in turn means that every third word used in the content part as a whole is in fact a German interpolation.

The main part of the content, however, is divided between three agenda items each of which includes an issue concerning a student. The first sub-item is also the shortest with 10 words altogether. Of these three are written in German and seven in Latin:

*/.../ **Übergab** Jacobus Balccius **sein klaglibel** contra Bartholdum Gregorij studiosum Finnonem /.../.*

⁹⁰ Petrus Anundi was a Swedish student and matriculated to the AG on 8 October 1632 (cf. Tering 1984: 142, entry no 64).

The matrix language of this item is Latin, which thus follows the practice of this entry as a whole. The sentence is multilingual with examples of intrasentential code-switching between the Latin matrix language and the German embedded language. In fact, the German interpolations can also be considered insertions that follow the scheme of A–B. The sentence starts with a German word *übergab* (he handed over) and switches to the person given in Latinized form, and then switches back to the German explaining the object the person in fact handed over (i.e. *sein klaglibel*) his letter of complaint. The latter word is formed from the German word *Klag(e)* (complaint) into which the Latin word *libellum* (a small book) has been integrated, and is used as a German word instead. The German word *sein* and Latin *libellum* are also lexically congruent to one another. This interpolation is in turn followed by the third switch from German to Latin that includes a five-word long explanation comprising the information against whom the letter was addressed.

The middle agenda item is also the longest comprising altogether of 61 words of which 39 are given in Latin and 22 in German. All in all it comprises three sentences. The first sentence is also the shortest with only four words out of which the verb is given in German and the following student name is given in Latinized form:

/.../ **Erscheinet** Eberus Olai Löfingius /.../.

Here too code-switching (CS) is intrasentential and congruent lexicalization is also evident due to the fact that the verb requires the nominative case in which the Latin name is also given.

The second sentence is in fact the longest with 30 words all of which are written exclusively in Latin, due which code-switching does not occur within the sentence.

The last sentence under the second agenda item, on the other hand, is the most multifaceted in terms of multilingual practices. It consists of 27 words, of which 21 are written in German and more than three times less (i.e. six) in Latin. Therefore at sentence level it is the only one within this entry in which German is used as the matrix language and Latin, in fact, as the embedded language. In all the other cases and especially in the entry as a whole the linguistic pattern is just the opposite.

/.../ **Wird** hiemit **arrestiret undt ihm auferleget, in seinem Musaeo zu bleiben, biß er wieder** *ad iudicium vociret wird, unter deßen soll er circa hor[am] l enarrationem* **schriftlich einschicken** /.../.

This sentence in fact is connected with the previous one in which the description was given utterly in Latin and is followed by the present sentence, which provides a resolution in German with a few interpolations in Latin.

The code-switching is intrasentential in which congruent lexicalization is also evident. In particular, the first Latin interpolation *Musaeo* (here: learning or

study room) is congruent in gender, case and number with the preceding phrase in German – *in seinem* (in his) – as the *musaeum* is a neuter noun in ablative singular. This is followed again by a phrase in German – *zu bleiben* (to stay) – and the code-switching as a whole follows the scheme of A–B–A switching from German to Latin and then back to German, and can thus be considered as an alternation. A similar phrase with code-switching and congruent lexicalization follows this example. German phrase *biß er wieder* (until he will again) requires Latin noun in accusative case – *ad iudicium* (to the court) – which is once again followed by a specification in German – *vociret wird* (will be summoned).

The last switch is the longest containing a switch from German to Latin and then back to German:

/.../ unter deßen soll er circa hor[am] 1. enarrationem schriftlich (sic!) einschicken /.../ (meanwhile around one o'clock he will have to submit his explanation in writing).

Here, three German words are followed by three words in Latin, after which the author has switched back to German following the A–B–A scheme. In addition, the fact that the Latin word *enarratio* is used in accusative singular case is caused by the subsequent German verb *einschicken* that is transitive and thus requires a noun to be in the accusative case.

The third and last agenda item, however, is written exclusively in Latin and is a declaration of a decision made by the Consistory. Yet, intersentential code-switching occurs between the second agenda item as a whole and the third one. Despite the fact that the content part, which comprises examples of code-switching, is rather short, there are altogether 14 occasions of code-switching, which are predominantly intrasentential with examples of congruent lexicalization as well.

The practice of mixing German, Latin and Swedish within and between sentences during the Consistory sessions could hypothetically be important evidence of the oral linguistic performance used by the professors and students when discussing different official issues, and needs further systematic investigation.

2.3.2. Multilingual judicial documents

The corpus of multilingual judicial documents consists of 96 text-units or 60% of all of the judicial administrative documents extant from the *Academia Dorpatensis* (i.e. from 159 text-units). The greater part of all of the multilingual text-units are in fact preserved from the AGC period (i.e. 71 or about 74% from the multilingual judicial documents), and 25 or about 26% from the AG period.

In terms of format, multilingual judicial documents are similar to their monolingual counterparts – they are either of folio or quarto format with an

average length of about a quarter to half a page. The structure of mono- as well as multilingual documents is also the same – they are predominantly tripartite and partly follow the same structure as the letters (cf chapter 6). Each document starts with the allocution to the addressee, followed by the summary of the result of the decisions accepted in the Consistory sessions. This part is followed by the last part in which the signature with additional information such as date and place of writing.

The linguistic performance used in multilingual judicial documents is, in fact, the most multifaceted amongst this chapter's data. From 96 text-units there are 91 text-units which can be considered as bilingual comprising either of German and Latin (in 46 text-units, 20 from the AG and 26 from the AGC period) or Swedish and Latin (in 45 text-units, five from the AG and the majority of 40 from the AGC period). In both cases a vernacular (either German or Swedish) is used as the matrix language and Latin as the embedded language. However, from the linguistic performance used it occurs that while judicial documents with German and Latin are extant from both of the periods almost equally, Swedish and Latin combinations, on the other hand, are used predominantly during the AGC period.

Besides a number of bilingual examples, there are still five judicial documents that comprise examples of examples of trilingual text-units. All of them are in fact extant from the AGC period, three text-units in which the German matrix has some Latin as well as Swedish interpolations added. In addition, German as matrix language with Latin and French as well as Swedish matrix language with some Latin and French interpolations have been used on one occasion each. The practice of mixing more than two languages within a text-unit is common in letters (cf. Ch. 6), and as the multilingual judicial documents from the *Academia Dorpatensis* are responses to letters, such an outcome is rather logical.

2.3.3. Multilingual official ordinances and patents

2.3.3.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual official ordinances and patents

The corpus of official ordinances and patents differs from all of the other text-units in the different sub-groups of the Academy's administrative documents due to the fact that they are all printed texts. The total number of all of the extant ordinances and patents that includes some examples of multilingual practices is six or 16% of all the official ordinances and patents (i.e. 44 text-units). Three of them are extant from the AG and three from the AGC period.

The structure as well as format of the multilingual ordinances and patents is the same as in the monolingual ordinances and patents – they are either folio-size (ordinances) covering approximately one page, or of quarto-format (patents) and up to three pages.

In terms of structure they are either bi- or tripartite. Out of the six multilingual documents, a single one follows the bipartite structure and five are tripartite. However, all of them comprise an introductory part with either allocutions to the king of Sweden or the title of the text. This is followed by the content part, and if the texts are tripartite, also the name of the author of the document with or without additional information, such as date and place of writing or sending.

All of the multilingual official ordinances as well as patents are bilingual written either with Swedish matrix and Latin interpolations (in three text-units, two are extant from the AG and one from the AGC period) or in a German matrix with some Latin interpolations (all in all three text-units, all of which are extant from the AGC period). In fact, in every text-unit Latin interpolations are used extremely scarcely as in most of the other printed text-units that contain multilingual practices (cf. especially chapter 4.3.4.) about printed dissertations, disputations and orations. In addition, there is not a single example that uses some interpolations from the minority languages, such as either from Lower German or Estonian.

The rather small amount of examples with multilingual practices (6) can perhaps be explained by the main function of this type of text-units. As they were meant to be put up in public places to be read not only by the academic staff and the students but most often also by other literate people, they are predominantly written in a vernacular understood by all, and not in Latin that was the language of the academe. However, all of the examples with multilingual practices are written so that a vernacular is used as the matrix language that also comprises just a few examples of Latin interpolations that in turn can be considered as embedded language.

2.3.3.2. Case study: multilingual ordinance by Eric Dahlberg (1698) as an example of formulaic intrasentential code-switching

The multilingual ordinance chosen for the following case study was written on 16 March 1698 during the AGCD period by the chancellor of the Academy, Governor-General of Livonia, Eric Dahlberg who kept this position from 1696–1703.⁹¹ The aim of this ordinance is to acknowledge the importance of studying at the *Academia Dorpatensis*, as well as that care should be taken by the teachers teaching the students as well as by the students in their studies (cf. Illustration 3).

⁹¹ This ordinance is kept in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm in fond Livonica II in volume 462 (as an unpaginated printed document), and was printed in Stockholm.

John Skytte, Governor-General of Livland started the tradition that the Governor-General of Livland also held the position of the chancellor in the Academy. However, chancellors were specifically elected to the Academy in the AG period for 1635–1642, Governor-General of Estonia, Philip Scheiding and for 1648, Bengt Skytte. During the AGC period, however, besides General Gouverneur of Livonia (J. J. Hastfer 1690–1696, and E. Dahlbergh 1696–1703), the position was also held by some high officials outside Livonia, e.g. N. Lillerot, 1703–1705, and A. Horn, 1705–1710 (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 49, 81; Järvelaid, Viiding 2015: 90).

It is a quarto format ordinance comprising four pages and is thus slightly than the majority of such printed text-units. The total number of words in the ordinance is 476. It is bilingual written in German that is used as the matrix language with a few Latin interpolations. The total number of German words within this ordinance is 463 or 97%, and the number for Latin words is 13 or about 3%.

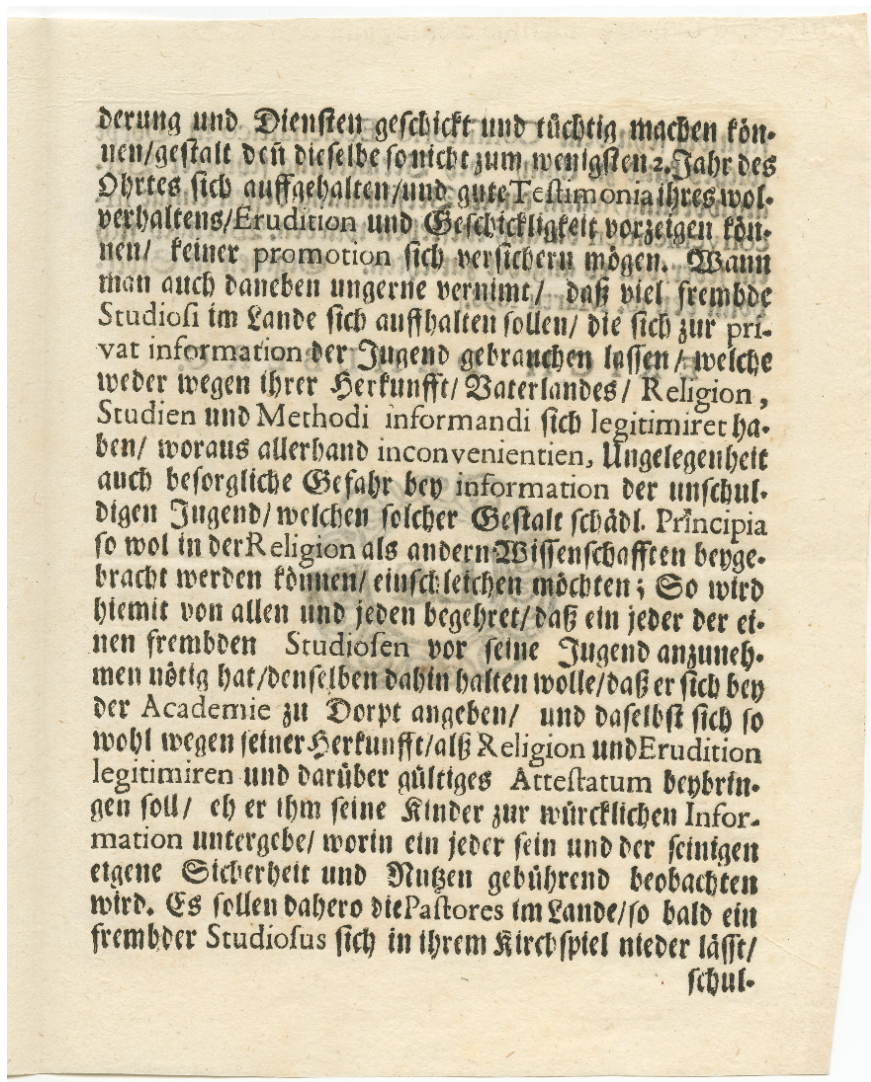


Illustration 3. An ordinance by Eric Dahlbergh, 1698, third page (RA, Livonica II, vol. 462)

In terms of structure, the ordinance is tripartite consisting of an introductory part which can also be considered a title page for the document, a content part and a concluding part. The introductory part, which is written exclusively in German, comprises 38 words or about 8% of the whole ordinance. It contains the name of the Academy's chancellor and General Governor of Livonia, Eric Dahlberg, with all of his official titles.

The following content part contains, on the other hand, some examples of multilingual practices and covers two and a quarter pages. The overall length of the content part is 436 words, i.e. 91.5% from the whole ordinance. Out of them as many as 423 are in fact written in German and just 13 are in Latin, so that every 33rd word is an interpolation.

On the verso of the title page, i.e. amongst the 180 words of that page there are three words written in Latin:

*/.../ und daselbst sich in den **Studiis** und **Exercitiis Academicis** nach eines jeden Zweck zu perfectioniren /.../.*

Here the code-switching is intrasentential in which the preposition *in* is used with a German article *den* in the dative case that, in turn, requires the subsequent Latin noun(s) to also be in the plural case, denoting the location, so that Latin words in the ablative follow. Congruent lexicalization is also used in the example.

The third page of the document covers altogether 216 words, of which seven are Latin interpolations. Five of them are single nouns integrated into the German matrix:

- (1) */.../ und gute **Testimonia** ihres wolverhaltens /.../.*
- (2) */.../ daß viel frembde **Studiosi** im lande sich auffhalten sollen /.../*
- (3) */.../ welchen solcher Gestalt schäd. **Principia** so wol in der Religion als andern Wissenschaften beygebracht werden können /.../*
- (4) */.../ Es sollen daher die **Pastores** im Lande / so bald ein frembder **Studiosus** sich in ihrem kirch spiel nieder lässt /.../.*

In all of the cases that Latin interpolations are used, the words are rather formulaic, so that they could be understood by all despite being written in Latin. All of the examples demonstrate the usage of intrasentential code-switching, in which the Latin words are lexically congruent with the text of the matrix language. For instance, in example (4) the German article *die* and the verb *sollen* require the subsequent noun to be in nominative plural form, i.e. *die pastores*, and so the Latin noun is also in the plural nominative case. In the same sentence before the Latin word *studiosus*, an article *ein* (a) is used which, in turn, requires the following noun to be in singular form, as the Latin *studiosus* is.

On the same page there is also an example of two-word Latin interpolation:

*/.../ Studien und **Methodi informandi** sich legitimiret haben /.../.*

Here there is an example of the Latin gerundium genitive *informandi* together with the noun *methodus* given in plural nominative case – also an example of intrasentential code-switching (*studies and teaching methods that have been legitimized*). The Latin noun *methodi* is congruent with the preceding German word *Studien* (studies) as well as with the verb *sich legitimiret haben*.

The verso of this page covers altogether just 40 words, of which three are given in Latin. Firstly, two-word Latin interpolation is used to refer the ecclesiastic Consistory:

*/.../ schuldig seyn **Consistorio Ecclesiastico** in Dorpt solches kund zu thun /.../.*

Here, too, congruent lexicalization is evident – the German phrase *schuldig seyn* requires the following either German or Latin nouns to be in dative case, so that the following phrase in Latin is put into dative singular.

And the very last example comprises the additional information when and where the ordinance was written, in which the month has been written in Latin provided also with an article in German:

*/.../ Gegeben in Stockholm den 16. **Martii** 1698 /.../.*

The last part of the ordinance is the visually distinguishable closing part that consists only of the name of the author (Eric Dahlberg), since the date and place of writing the ordinance has, in this text-unit, been integrated into the content part.

As seen from the analysis of the multilingual ordinance, Latin interpolations were rarely used, all in all in 10 single occasions of code-switching. Those interpolations did not once exceed the length of two words, which in turn means that if the readership were non-academic people, who could not understand Latin, they could still get the general idea of the ordinance. Despite the fact that all of the Latin interpolations are formulaic expressions that are widely used in the academic sphere, every occasion when they occur they are congruent with the German matrix, showing the author's rather cognizant choice of using code-switching.

Multilingual administrative ordinances and patents were in terms of linguistic performance rather similar to the text-units analysed under the academic regulations in chapter 1.3.4 – a vernacular was used as the matrix language and Latin was used as short one to two-word rather formulaic interpolations.

2.3.4. Multilingual protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy

A total of 22 multilingual protocol entries exist from the Faculty of Philosophy or 58% of all entries (total 38 entries), all of which are extant from the AGC period.

In terms of structure as well as format these protocols are highly similar to the Academy's Consistory protocols, in which entries have been written on folio-size sheets. Their structure is also bipartite comprising an introduction (including the date of the entry with the rectorate of the professors, the names of the participants of the faculty council sessions as well as the place of the meeting) and a content part. Multilingual entries are written in a *notula* form that are also provided with longer explanations.

All of the multilingual entries in the protocols book of the Faculty of Philosophy are bilingual written either in Swedish matrix with some Latin interpolations (18 entries out of 22) or vice versa – in Latin matrix with Swedish as the embedded language (in four entries). In all of the cases of code-switching, the multilingual entries in the protocols book of the Faculty of Philosophy follow the same linguistic patterns as the Consistory protocols – Latin interpolations were used rather formulaically, code-switching was intrasentential and congruent lexicalization was also preferred.

As the Consistory protocols of the Academy were already studied in depth as a case study above in sub-chapter 2.3.1.2., the multilingual protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy will not be studied more thoroughly in this chapter.

2.4. Conclusion

The corpus of the academic administrative documents comprises of both manuscripts as well as some examples of printed texts. There is in fact a single text group – *Matricula* – that is exclusively monolingual referring to the fact that some types of administrative documents, such as student registers, remained unchanged in their linguistic performance and Latin-centred throughout the *Academia Dorpatensis*.

The majority of the examples in which multilingual practices were used, were bilingual, bilingual, with five examples of trilingual documents. The frequency of code-switching varies in different text types remarkably: in Consistory protocols, for example, the code-switching is the most frequent while ordinances and patents contain Latin interpolations in examples of formulaic language. Most of the code-switches are intrasentential with a number of examples of congruent lexicalization, as well as some instances of alternations and insertions. In both the printed as well as handwritten multilingual text-units, a vernacular is the matrix language and Latin is the embedded language – a practice similar to the multilingual legislative texts (cf. ch. 1.3.4.) as well as common to the manuscripts but rarely used in the other printed academic texts from Dorpat and Pernau, in which Latin was, by contrast, most often used as the matrix language and a vernacular as the embedded language. This is especially the case in text types that were intended for larger audiences and addressed outside of the Academy, such as different ordinances and patents, which remained vernacular-centred comprising just a few Latin interpolations if at all.

Consistory protocols, on the other hand, reflect the overall linguistic patterns and performances of the Academy – during the AG period when the majority of the professors were of German origin, the sessions were held in German and Latin, and during the AGC period, on the other hand, when the greater number of the professors were of Swedish origin, Swedish was used with Latin, but not once alongside German or vice versa.

In terms of format, all of the documents are either bi- or occasionally tripartite, and written either as folio or quarto size papers. The introductory parts of multilingual administrative documents are written almost exclusively in Latin, while the content parts contain also examples of multilingual practices and are thus the main places where code-switching takes place. Here, as in the group of legislative academic texts, the coordinated usage of code-switching and visual pragmatics is evident.

3. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS FROM *ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS*

3.1. Overview of mono- and multilingual text corpus

The present chapter focuses on a number of handwritten financial documents preserved from both the AG and the AGC period that were written either by some professors, officials, bibliothecarian or students of the Academy.⁹² As the following analysis concentrates on the sociolinguistic point of view, the distinction between mono- and multilingual text-units will be central. Subsequently, different types of financial documents will be distinguished between one another, taking into consideration their main characteristics as well as objectives, so that all of the text-units are divided into six major groups. As the text-units that

⁹² In the following study the umbrella term “financial documents” is used referring to the documents involved with the accounting and bookkeeping as well as to all the financial matters (incl. finances) of the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*. According to the OED, “accounting”, which is a wider term and used on a number of occasions in this chapter refers to “the process or work of keeping financial accounts” and bookkeeping is “the activity or occupation of keeping records of the financial affairs of a business”. In this study, however, the institution or business referred to is the *Academy*, and the term “financial” is thus used in order to refer to all the financial documents created in and for the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*.

As in the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* there was not yet a profession such as “bookkeeper” nor “accountant”, the supervision of the Academy’s finances was carried out by the quaestor. According to the first Constitution of the Academy (1650, chapter XI) the responsibilities of the quaestor were as follows: /.../ 1. *Qvestor Academiae a senatu majore eligitur Sacraeqve M.^{ti} Regiae ad confirmandum nominabitur per Cancellarium et commendabitur. Eligitur autem literatus, fidus, qvi aliquvandiū in academiis vixit, qvi statum et salutem Academiae amat et illum bene perspectum habet.* 2. *Ejusdem officium et munus erit (α) curabit bona et fundos academiae (β)reditus tempestive colliget, eos in nummum convertet ac aerario inferet, dimidium summae ad 30 diem Decembris, reliquum intra 23 Iunij (γ) domicilia et cubicula studiosis aliisque membris academiae petentibus precio locabit; professoribus v[ero] indigentibus, gratis (δ) Rationes accepti et expensi circa Festum Michaelis Rectori et duobus a Concilio deputatis professoribus reddet bis descriptas, de quibus alterum exemplar in archivis academiae reponetur, alterum Academiae Cancellario exhibebitur in Regia Camera asservandum. /.../.*

In some cases the quaestor was not elected outside the Academy, but some professors kept the position instead. For example, the position for the quaestor during the AG period was held by the following : (1) September 1632 – January 1639, May 1640 – summer of 1644 – Oluff Bengtson Gadd; (2) May 1639 – May 1640 – Claes Nottbeck; (3) 1644–1647 as a vice-quaestor and 1647–1650 as a quaestor, professor of Astronomy and Physics Johannes Eriici Stregensis; (4) January 1650–1654 – Sven Brustorff (Brüse); (5) 1654–1656 – Gudmundus Lidenius, an Adjunct of Philosophy (cf. Inno 1972: 90; Tering 1978: 107). During the AGC period, on the other hand, the position was held by the following persons: (1) 1689–1693 – Heinrich Hakelmann; (2) 1699–1700 – the position was divided between the student of medicine Daniel Clocovius who was matriculated on September 15, 1691 (cf. Tering 1984: 319, entry no 1252), and professor of History Sveno Cameen; (3) 1705–1708 – Magnus Otter; (4) during the last years of the AGCP the position was held by the professor of Mathematics Conrad Quensel (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 83).

comprise the corpus of the financial documents from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* have not been categorized nor studied from the socio-linguistical point of view before,⁹³ the following division follows the principles of terminology used in modern day accounting that, in turn, were coined during the medieval and early modern times following the example of antiquity, and are thus applicable to the following study:

- (1) cashbooks (both from the AG and AGC),⁹⁴
- (2) trial balance, i.e. debit and credit totals per account (both from the AG and AGC),⁹⁵

⁹³ The financial documents of the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* have been studied before from the perspectives of the economic history of the Academy. (1) The very first study of the AG and AGC's financial situation (i.e. finances) was carried out by H. L. C. Backmeister in 1764 in the treatise *Nachrichten von den ehemaligen Universitäten zu Dorpat. – Sammlung der russischen Geschichte. Vol XI.* St Petersburg. (2) The second one was written by C. Schirren almost a hundred years later in 1854 entitled as *Zur Geschichte der schwedischen Universität in Livland – “Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Kurlands”,* herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der russischen Ostsee-Provinzen, vol VII, H. 1. Riga. (3) For the 300-year anniversary of the foundation of the *Academia Gustaviana* in 1932 J. Bergman dedicated a treatise entitled as *Universitetet i Dorpat under svenska tiden.* Uppsala-Stockholm, describing also the economic situation of the Academy. (4) For the very first time the financial documents from both the AG and AGC period were in fact published and commented on to some extent by J. Vasar in 1932, in a study entitled as *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo allikaid. I, Academia Gustaviana : a) ürikuid ja dokumente = Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Tartu (Dorpat). I, Academia Gustaviana : a) Urkunden und Dokumente.* Tartu: Tartu Ülikool. (5) G. von Rauch have given an overview of the financial situation of the Academy (especially of its AGC period) in his treatise from 1943 *Die Universität Dorpat und das Eindringen der frühen Aufklärung in Livland 1690–1710,* Essen, especially pp. 39–40. However, the most exhaustive studies of the economic and financial situation of the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* on the basis of the extant financial documents have been written by H. Piirimäe in a number of treatises: (6) *Tartu Ülikooli finantsidest XVII sajandil.* – Eesti NSV ajaloo küsimusi VIII (TRÜ Toimetised 340), Tartu; (7) *Tartu Ülikooli ajalugu I 1632–1798.* Tallinn: Valgus, 1982, pp. 51–60; (8) *Rootsi riigimajandus Eesti- ja Liivimaal XVII sajandil.* Tartu: EÜS Kirjastus, 2009, pp. 159–180; (9) T. Hiio and H. Piirimäe (eds.), 2007. *Universitas Tartuens 1632–2007.* Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, pp. 53–57.

⁹⁴ Under the term “cashbook” (in the following abbreviated as CB) the overview of all of the single cash purchases and/or incomes in chronological order are considered. The term “cashbook” itself is a conditional denominator as it might refer in this material to the rather short financial documents from the *Academia Dorpatensis* with an average length of 1.5 pages (that can also be considered even as worksheets) as well. The synonym for cashbook is account book or ledger that will also be used in this study. Cashbooks as a denominator for all such writings/entries also include examples from the financial documents of Ingria account books from the AG period. The majority of the extant cashbooks are kept in the MRBD in fond 7, 42–45, 50, 54–89, 92–94; some in the Latvian State Historical Archives in Riga in fond 4038, and some in the Swedish National Archive in Stockholm in fond Livonica II, volumes 451, 452, 456, 461, 466.

⁹⁵ The term “trial balance” incorporates credit and debit totals per account. According to the OED, it is “a statement of all debits and credits in a double-entry account book, with any

- (3) analyses of trial balance (both from the AG and AGC),⁹⁶
- (4) lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries (both from the AG and AGC),⁹⁷
- (5) cash orders for receiving scholarships and salaries (both from the AG and AGC),⁹⁸
- (6) different receipts (both from the AG and AGC).⁹⁹

All these six text groups represent different kinds of financial documents produced in and/or for the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*. The practice used in creating such documents, especially the first three (i.e. cashbooks, trial balance and the analyses of trial balance), follows the principles of the so-called new-model accountancy that emerged in Europe from the end of the 15th and early 16th century onwards. Those principles were interpreted in Luca Pacioli's *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni et proportionalita* (1494, Republic of Venice) in a section dedicated to business – *Particularis de Computis et Scripturis*. The new model was also called the Venetian method, which by the 16th and 17th century had been disseminated to the rest of Europe. This means that in early modern Europe a transition from medieval primitive forms of tabulation to double-entry bookkeeping (that in fact is still used today with slight modifications) took place. Accordingly, each transaction was recorded

disagreement indicating an error” – a definition applicable to the study of early modern equivalents. However, in this study most of the trial balance are double-entry worksheets as they do not comprise more than a single sheet in most cases. A trial balance comprises either annual and supra semester reports. In addition to the full written name, the abbreviation TB is also occasionally used. The majority of all of the extant trial balances are kept in the MRBD in fond 7, 42–43, 49, 64; and some in the Swedish National Archive in Stockholm in fond Livonica II, volumes 456, 469.

⁹⁶ “Analyses of trial balances” comprises longer verbal (rather than numerical) descriptions of every given trial balance in which credits and debits totals have been explained in more detail. In parallel, the abbreviation ATB will be used. The majority of them are also kept in the MRBD in fond 7, 42–49, 64, 68–69; and in the Swedish National Archive in Stockholm in fond Livonica II, in volumes 451, 452, 456, 461, 467–469, 472, 474.

⁹⁷ Under “lists of professors salaries and stipendiaries” all of the entries with lists of students who gained scholarship as well as calculations of professors salaries and additional fees are given. Occasionally, an abbreviation of LPSS is also used. They are kept in the MRBD in fond 7, 42, 43, 49; in the Latvian State Historical Archives in Riga in fond 4038, as well as in Stockholm in fond Livonica II, volumes 451, 456, 466.

⁹⁸ “Cash orders for receiving scholarships and salaries” incorporates all the small text-units from students as well as professors with affirmations of receiving their payments. Instead of this long reference to cash orders, an abbreviation of CORSS is also used. Those documents are kept both in the MRBD fond 7, 42–45, 73–78, 92; and in Stockholm in fond Livonica II, volumes 450, 451, 459, 466, 469.

⁹⁹ “Different receipts” is used in this study as a denominator for all of the single receipts that can not be divided under none of the above given groups. They incorporate receipts from both the Academy's print shop as well as the library. Besides this term, its abbreviation DR is also occasionally used. The majority of those documents are also kept in the MRBD, fond 7, 42–45; in the Riga fond 4038.2.987, and in Stockholm in fond Livonica II in volumes 451, 452, 466, 469, 472.

twice as both a credit and a debit, which were then cross-indexed to corresponding accounts in a cashbook (or in a ledger), and lastly they were also balanced. Therefore, each transaction was noted in three different accounting documents – firstly written down in a *memoriale* (i.e. in the trial balance), then listed in debit and credit form in the *journal* (i.e. in the book of the analyses of the trial balance) and lastly posted in the *ledger* (i.e. in the cashbook) (cf. Nobes 1984: 29–39; Lee, Bishop, Parker 1996: 56; Aho 2005: 63–64; Scott-Warren 2016: 151–152). Despite the fact that the adoption of this new method of using double-entry bookkeeping was rather slow in early modern Northern Europe (cf. Nobes 1984: 35), the academic financial records from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*, however, clearly indicate that it was used as a general practice in the Academy’s accounting documents from both the AG and AGC period.

For the following analysis, first of all the statistical information on all of the text-units in the sub-groups of the accounting documents is going to be explained in order to provide an overview of the corpus of mono- and multilingual texts. The focus will be on the proportions and linguistic performance of each group of text-units. To comprehend the exact volume of the material for this chapter’s corpus better, the proportions are given for both the count for the text-units as well as the total number of words under each sub-group of accounting documents.

The corpus collected for this chapter comprises all of the extant text-units considering all kinds of financial documents from both the AG and AGC periods. All of the text-units within this chapter’s corpus are manuscripts with not a single exception of a printed text. The total number of all of the extant handwritten financial documents from *Academia Dorpatensis* is thus 450 text-units that constitutes just about 6% of the whole extant academic heritage (i.e. from 7,831 text-units). Due to this small proportion of financial documents from the whole corpus of the present thesis, this chapter’s corpus is also one of the smallest mostly due to the character of the texts – as all of the text-units are considered accounting documents such as reports, analyses, lists, cash orders and so on, comprising mostly numerical data, their verbal content is rather short and their format is, respectively, small.¹⁰⁰

The majority of all of the accounting documents – 328 or 73% – are extant from the AG and almost three times less – 122 or 27% – from the AGC period.

When distinguishing between the mono- and multilingual text-units it occurs that the total number of monolingual text-units from the AG period is 51 and the equivalent for the AGC period is almost three times less (i.e. 19 text-units). The overall amount of monolingual financial documents from the *Academia Dorpatensis* is thus 70 text-units that constitutes nearly 16% from this chapter’s overall data. The corresponding numbers for multilingual text-units are 277 from the AG and 103 from the AGC period. Multilingual text-units constitute as

¹⁰⁰ The formats of the text-units vary from larger folio format writings to rather small octavo or even to duodecimal format units. Some are in fact written even on some indeterminate sized papers that are often with ragged edges.

much as 380 text-units, i.e. 86% from the whole corpus of the present chapter. Despite comprising very small amount of academic texts, this chapter's data is rather exceptional due to the fact that in it the overall amount of multilingual texts exceeds the equivalent of monolingual ones over five times – a practice hardly occurring in some of the other chapters' data.

In order to estimate the given proportions better, the average number of words and the overall length of each and every text-unit from all of the six sub-groups will also be briefly described. Most of the accounting documents were **analyses of trial balance (ATB)** with 301 text-units comprising 67% of the whole corpus – 206 were written during the AG and 95 from the AGC period. The ATBs are also the lengthiest text-units within this chapter's data not only in terms of the number of pages, but also on account of words per page. The average length of the ATBs is three pages of folio-size text-units. On average there were 237 words per page, which means that each ATB consists of at least 711 words, and thus all of them about 214,011 words. All of the 72 monolingual ATBs contain altogether about 51,192 words that in turn constitute about 24%. The equivalents for 229 multilingual ATBs are 162,819 words or. 76%.

In second place, **cashbooks (CB)** with 47 text-units constituting about 10% of the whole chapter material. The majority of the CBs – 24 – are extant from the AG and a single one from the AGC period. The average length per CB is 1.5 pages of either folio or quarto format. Per page there are approximately 72 words and thus each and every CB comprise about 108 words and all of them about 2,700 words. Here too the majority of the text-units are multilingual – 20 – altogether with 2,160 words, i.e. 82%, and five are monolingual with 540 words that is 20%.

The third text-group comprise of **lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries (LPSS)** that from their number follow the ATBs with 43 text-units comprising about 10% from the whole corpus of this chapter. Of them 39 LPSSs are extant from the AG and four from the AGC period. The average length of the LPSSs is one page either of folio or quarto format. Per page each LPSS comprises about 72 words, and thus all of them about 3,096 words. Unlike to all the other sub-groups amongst them the majority of the text-units – 28 – are in fact monolingual, comprising altogether 2,016 words or 65% from all of the extant LPSSs. The remaining 15 with total of 1,080 words or 35%, are multilingual.

The fourth largest group of text-units amongst the accounting documents is **different receipts (DR)** comprising about 7% with 33 text-units from the whole corpus. 14 of them are extant from the AG and 19 from the AGC period. The average length of the DRs is about one page, but the formats of the pages vary extensively – from duodecimal to quarto format. However, the approximate amount of words per DR is 26, and all together consist of about 858 words. Nine out of 33 are monolingual a total of with 234 words or 27%, while the rest of 24 are multilingual with 624 words or 73%.

The fifth largest sub-group is the **cash orders for receiving scholarships and salaries (CORSS)** with 15 examples. Here the majority of the text-units –

13 – are extant from the AG and just two from the AGC period, constituting about 3.5% of the chapter's corpus. Similar to the DRs, the average length of the CORSSs is about one page, but the format of the paper varies widely, being quite often written even on small uneven ragged shreds of paper. Of them four are monolingual and most of the CORSSs – 11 – are multilingual. These text-units have approximately 23 words each as the shortest within this chapter's corpus material. Together they comprise a total of 345 words, so that the monolingual constitute 92 words or about 27%, while multilingual ones 253 that is about 73%.

The smallest sub-group of accounting documents are **trial balance, i.e. debit and credit totals per account** comprising only 11 text-units or about 2.5% of the whole corpus of the present chapter. Similar to the other sub-groups the majority of the text-units – 10 – are extant from the AG and just a single one from the AGC period. The average length of the TB is 1.5 pages on either folio or quarto format sheets. Per page there are approximately 69 words and thus per TB about 103 words. Amongst all of the extant TBs there is not a single examples of monolingual text-units and thus all 11 writings include multilingual practices. All together they comprise 1,133 words.

As each of the sub-groups comprise text-units with multilingual practices, they will be studied in depth in the case studies from sub-chapter 3.3 onwards. Yet, before doing so, an overview of the five sub-groups of monolingual text-units will also be given in 3.2, with an exception of the corpus of TBs, which only comprises of multilingual text-units.

3.2. Monolingual text-units among the financial documents

Except for the TBs, every other sub-group of financial documents produced within the *Academia Dorpatensis* included some examples of monolingual text-units. The overall total of all monolingual financial documents is 70 or over 15% of all the texts in this corpus. In fact, all of them without an exception were written in Latin – 51 during the AG and 19 during the AGC period.

As in all the other text-units of the present thesis (except for chapter 4), not a single precept on how the accounting documents were supposed to either be written or structured, not mentioning their recommended linguistic performance, occurs in the constitutions of the Academy (1650, 1689). Therefore, one can only assume that the linguistic practices used within all the mono- as well as in the following multilingual text-units, followed most probably the general practices used in the Academy of the early modern period. In the following sub-chapters 3.2.1. to 3.2.5. monolingual text-units of the accounting documents will also be briefly studied.

3.2.1. Monolingual cashbook

In the corpus of the financial documents from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* there are 47 extant text-units. Of them just a single text-unit (i.e. just 2%) is in fact exclusively monolingual and thus follows the overall pattern of this chapter – according to which the monolingual text-units are in a minority.

The only monolingual cashbook (CB) is extant from the AG period from 1652 written exclusively in Latin. Since there is only one monolingual CB in this corpus, which is thus extremely small, it is rather difficult to draw any exhaustive conclusions.¹⁰¹

All of the CBs (i.e. both mono- and multilingual) besides consisting of double-entries of credits and debits, tend also to follow the similar structure – they are either bi- or tripartite. The only monolingual CB, however, is tripartite consisting of a visually distinguishable introductory part, followed by the main part that consists either of one or two columns of the content (credits and debits), and last the so-called closing part that is separated from the main part by a concluding line with a summarizing word *summa* in Latin.

3.2.2. Monolingual analyses of trial balance

The overall total of all of the extant ATBs is 301 text-units of which 32 or 11% are monolingual. As this is also the most compendious sub-group of this chapter, the overall proportion of monolingual texts is also rather high.

Amongst the monolingual ATBs, there are text examples from both periods of the Academy, all of which are in fact written exclusively in Latin with not a single exception of an ATB written entirely in a vernacular – 19 are extant from the AG and 13 from the AGC period.

In terms of structure, the ATBs are predominantly tripartite consisting of a visually distinguishable title of the record provided with the semester and/or the year it describes. This is followed by the content part in which credit and debit are written (most often) on different sides of the sheets and the record provided with longer explanations. They might either be written on one side of the folio format sheet or mostly on double-sided sheets so that credit is written on one side (usually to the left) and debit on the other (to the right). The main part is in all cases underlined (separated by a line) dividing thus the content and the closing part. In every ATB the closing part consists of the Latin summarizing word *Summa*. Occasionally the author of the record also adds the time and place of writing under this word.

¹⁰¹ The cashbooks that are extant cover almost exclusively the AG period, with just a single one missing from 1656.

3.2.3. Monolingual lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries

The total of all the LPSSs is 43 text-units, of which the majority – 28 or 65% – are in fact monolingual. This is therefore the only sub-group in the corpus of accounting documents in which the amount of monolingual text-units exceeds the multilingual texts. Amongst the monolingual LPSSs there are examples from both periods – 27 text-units from the AG and one from the AGC period. Lists created during the AG and AGC period are in fact exclusively written in Latin. Not a single example of an LPSS exclusively in a vernacular occurs amongst the corpus of those monolingual text-units.

The monolingual LPSSs might comprise only lists of either student-stipendiaries or professors with a designated salary or other fundings.

Therefore, the LPSSs might not include a visually distinguishable structure that comprises different sections, but could in fact comprise only a list of names instead. Yet, in the majority of the LPSSs, a distinctive either bi- or tripartite structure is evident. Similar to the ATBs, a short clearly discernable introductory part is provided consisting of the title of the text as well as the date or just a semester or a year. This section is always followed either directly by the list of stipendiaries or professors with attested sums and/or might also provide some additional information added in front of, behind or sometimes on the edge of the LPPS. In the tripartite structure, the author of the LPPS is also added to the end of the text with or without the date and place of writing.

In some tripartite LPPSs, the third part that is visually distinguishable from the content part, might in fact be an addition to cash orders (that will be described in the following sub-chapter 3.2.4). For instance, in some of the Latin LPPSs, the list of professors designated to a certain sum of money who are written in the content part, have in some occasions not written a separate confirmation about receiving the money, but instead have just added their signatures below the given list.

3.2.4. Monolingual cash orders for receiving scholarships and salaries

The corpus of cash orders of receiving scholarships and salaries (CORSS) consists of 15 text-units, of which the minority, as in all the other sub-groups of accounting documents except for the LPPSs (i.e. three or 20%), are also monolingual. All of them are extant from the AG period and written exclusively in Latin.

As some of the cash orders (i.e. mono- as well as multilingual), especially confirmations from students of gaining scholarship, have been written to exclusively small and obviously random sheets of papers, it is impossible to determine their exact format.

However, in terms of structure, CORRSs can be considered bipartite, consisting of a short confirmation usually starting (in case it is written in Latin) with the word I (*Ego*) followed by a short content of up to 20 words. This is followed by the closing part that in most cases contains only of the name of the author. Sometimes it might also be provided with additional information, such as the time and place of writing or sending.

Cash orders from professors, on the other hand, are slightly longer and can be considered tripartite in terms of structure. In such cases they are provided with a short title in Latin referring to the fact that the salaries have been received (*Accipiunt in pecunia*). The title is followed by the content part that might comprise a list of the professors with or without additional information. Lastly, as the closing part, the content might be separated from the conclusion using a single line, into which the concluding line has been added with the word *Summa*. When CORRSs are tripartite, all the different parts are also visually distinguishable.

3.2.5. Monolingual different receipts

The corpus of different receipts consists of 33 text-units of which six, or 18%, are monolingual. Unlike all the other sub-groups of monolingual text-units, this is the only one in which the total from the AGC period exceeds that of the AG. In other words, there is a single monolingual accounting document extant from the AG and five from the AGC period. From both periods, the monolingual records are written exclusively in Latin.

The majority of all of the monolingual receipts are different quittances from the Academy's printshop (4) and library (2) provided with different lists of goods.

Similar to CORRSs, DRs might as well be without a distinctive structure because (on three occasions) all of the content is written as one, without a title or closing remarks. However, there are still three examples in which a clearly distinguishable tripartite structure is evident. Similar to the other tripartite accounting documents, they consist of an introductory part that is usually a title. This is followed by the content part (i.e. a list of goods). The last part can also be considered the closing part, in which the signature of an author with the time and place of creating it, or occasionally just a visually separated overall sum for the receipt is added (with the Latin *Summa*).

As seen from the above overview, about one-sixth of all of the extant financial documents produced in *Academia Dorpatensis* are monolingual. In terms of linguistic performance those text-units do not follow the overall practice of the Academy of preferring either Latin or some vernacular (predominantly Swedish or German), and are without exception in Latin. The monolingual accounting documents follow either rather strict bi- or more often tripartite structures with formulaic components as in the CBs, ATBs, less often LPSSs, DRs and hardly ever in the CORRSs, especially when received from the students.

The majority of the monolingual financial documents are closely related to the Academy's library and printingshop, as well as the students' scholarships and salaries of professors (i.e. both the LPSSs and CORSSs).

3.3. Multilingual financial documents

Multilingual financial documents are texts written in more than one language – in this chapter written either in Latin and a vernacular or in two different vernaculars. The frame language (ML) of the multilingual financial documents varies remarkably – cases in which a vernacular and Latin are used together, the vernacular is in most cases the matrix language and Latin is the embedded language, and when two vernaculars (i.e. German and Swedish or German and Italian) are used together, either one might be the matrix or the embedded language depending on the text-unit.

As all of the six sub-groups of financial documents comprise also examples of multilingual text-units, each and every one of them will be studied in the subsequent sub-chapters. However, for the more exhaustive analysis, two examples of financial documents – one from the CB sub-group and the other from the DR – have been chosen and studied under the corresponding sub-chapters, (i.e. case studies) 3.3.1 and 3.3.6.

3.3.1. Multilingual cashbooks

3.3.1.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual cashbooks

The total number of extant handwritten multilingual cashbooks from the *Academia Dorpatensis* is 46, which constitutes about 98% of all of the CBs of this thesis. The vast majority of all of the CBs are preserved from the AG period; that is, 45 in total, and a single one from the AGC period. As with the monolingual CBs, the average length of the multilingual ones is 1.5 pages on average with approximately 108 words in total.

In terms of structure, most of the multilingual CBs (i.e. 44 text-units or 94%) are tripartite and two (6%) follow a bipartite structure. The only difference between the bi- and tripartite CBs is whether they comprise an introductory part (i.e. a title or an introductory sentence) or not. Tripartite CBs start with an introductory sentence in which the detailed information about the following entry (or entries) is provided with the year(s) the following data describes. This part is always followed by the content or the main part of the document. Both mono- and multilingual CBs follow the same patterns – they consist of double-entries for credits and debits presented in two separate columns on separate sides of the worksheets in a table format (cf. Illustration 4.). These parts include incomes as well as sales and purchases in chronological order, most often by year, seldom by semester or month. The rows may also contain supplementary information specifying the entries when needed.

The last part can be considered the concluding part, which is distinctly separated from the content by a separating line usually provided with the Latin word *summa* with the addition of the equivalent number.

In terms of linguistic performance all of the multilingual CBs are bilingual with not a single exceptional trilingual (or more complex) example.

The majority of the multilingual CBs – 27 – contain Swedish as the matrix language with the addition of some Latin interpolations; 26 are extant from the AG and a single one from the AGC period. Swedish is mixed with German in 17 CBs, all of which are extant from the AG period and are predominantly different excerpts from Ingria's account books. Lastly, there are two examples of a CB in which the number of Latin interpolations have been added to the German ML. As there are no instances in which languages other than Latin, Swedish or German are used when creating multilingual CBs, this indicates that these financial documents were, despite the fact that the authors were open to multilingual practices, still rather conservative in comparison to some other academic text types (such as letters, dissertations, disputations, entries in *alba amicorum* etc.), due to the fact that more than two languages were not once mixed together nor were minority languages (except of one example in French and two in Italian), ever once used within a text-unit.

In the following sub-chapter (3.3.1.2), a rather exemplary multilingual CB is going to be analysed as an exhaustive case study, in order to demonstrate how codeswitching (CS) occurs within the text-units of this sub-group in the corpus of financial documents of the *Academia Dorpatensis*.

3.3.1.2. Case study: accounting in *Academia Gustaviana* – an example of a multilingual cashbook from 1645–1646

The cashbook analysed here incorporates calculations of the yearly finances of the *Academia Dorpatensis* over the period of 1 January 1645 to 1 January 1646.¹⁰²

In terms of structure, the cashbook follows the principles of the majority of the other multilingual CBs from the *Academia Dorpatensis* – it is a tripartite with visually distinguishable sections, presented in a format of a table. The cashbook itself can even be considered a single worksheet with an overview of the annual finances from the AG presented as double-entries reflecting the debits and credits or income and expenses (i.e. the budget) of the Academy.

¹⁰² The analysed cashbook is kept in MRBD fond 7, vol. 61.

/.../ *Academiae Cassa Rehning för 1645 åhrs andordning att bebalning ifrå
den 1. jan. 1645 till den 1. jan. 1646* /.../.

Here the code-switching is intrasentential, however, congruent lexicalization is not evident. In fact, the Latin phrase *Academiae cassa*, in which the Academy is given in genitive case showing possession, is congruent with the following noun in Latin – *Cassa*. Rather remarkably this Latin word is used in singular nominative case in a position in which a genitive is usually expected – the form *cassa* is used instead of *cassae* – and the word *cassae* would have been congruent with the following Swedish word *Rehning* – “the calculations of the Academy’s cash[book]”. As here (similar, in fact, to the other CBs as well) the word *cassa* is given in nominative case, it is clear evidence of its usage as an uninflected word throughout this type of financial document.

The content part that follows is separated from the introductory part by a clearly discernable section; in other words, it is written in double-entry form using a table over a two-sided folio document. On the left side of the documents the calculations of the likely incomes (debit) for the AG are made, and on the right side the possible expenses (i.e. credit). The overall sums of both sides have to be equal at 8,000 silver thalers.

In addition to the numbers, the content part consists of a total of 124 words, of which the majority, i.e. 85 (69%) are in Latin, and the rest, i.e. 39 words (31%) in Swedish. Therefore, within the content, in contrast to the introductory part, Latin is clearly the matrix language and Swedish the embedded language.

However, as the calculations of debits and credits are written on different sides of the document and with separate totals, they will also be analysed as separate parts as well.

On the left side there is a column for debits. However, unlike most of the other CBs, here the exact word for it has not been written so that the calculations begin with the description of the incomes. The short list contains the incomes from the Academy’s manor lands in which the amounts of rye, oats and barley are calculated into their value in thalers. Additionally, incomes from the Käkisalmi (Kexholm) estate is also added. This part consists of 23 words, where 20 are written in Swedish and three in Latin. Code-switching is also intrasentential between the Swedish matrix and Latin embedded language.

The first line covers a short introductory clause that also comprises one of the three Latin words:

/.../ *Ränta af Academiae* /.../
 (“incomes of the Academy”).

In this example, the syntactic conjunction between Swedish and Latin is emphasized twice – firstly by using the Latin genitive ending *-ae* at the end of the word Academy (*Academiae*), and secondly when using the Swedish possessive preposition *af* (also in the function of the genitive case) in front of the word Academy.

The last entry of this calculation starts with a Latin prepositional phrase with the addition of three Swedish words:

/... / *Pro supplemento* ifrå Kexholmb Lhån /.../
("supplement[ary income] from the Käkisalme estate").

Here, the Latin phrase is used as a term referring to the additional income of the Academy. As this debit description can be considered a separate part of the CB, it is also followed by a separate closing part – a single word in Latin on a different row below – *summa* – with calculations of the overall sum of 8,000 silver thalers.

On the right side of the document, there is a description of the Academy's credits or expenses (without a reference word). This part is about five times longer than the debit part, consisting of 101 words altogether. Of them as many as 82 or 81% are written in Latin, and the remaining 19 words (19%) in Swedish. Therefore, in the credit side the linguistic performance is just the opposite of the debit side – Latin is the matrix language and Swedish the embedded language. In this part the salaries for the following 12 months are listed primarily for the professors, but also the secretary and the print shop typographer. Here, however, the code-switching that does occur between Latin and Swedish is exclusively intersentential; in other words, between the separate entry-lines of the credit calculations. The first is between the introductory phrase given in Swedish (*12 månader*) and the following line given in Latin:

/.../ *Theologus primus D[ominus] Doct[or] Andr[ea]s Virginus* /.../.

The second is in the middle of the calculations written over two lines almost exclusively in Swedish with a Latin interpolation:

/.../ *bekommit för halffua åhret dett öffriga till Academiae / nädtårffiga
Expenser, som Rehningen där på uthuise* /.../
("appointed to the Academy for the semiannual necessary expenses").

Here the Swedish word *till* requires dative form as the following word in Latin – *Academiae* – is congruent with it. At entry level, this sentence is an example of intrasentential code-switching in which Swedish is the matrix language and Latin the embedded language, despite the fact that in the expenses part as a whole the linguistic performance is exactly the opposite.

After three lines, again a Swedish interpolation is used – *Academiae Amptman* (Academy's official). Here the Swedish noun is congruent again with the Latin noun given in genitive singular case. In addition, the very last word of the credit part is also written in Swedish – *biblioteket* (library) with an additional sum behind it. Each entry is beside its description followed by the exact sum. As in the debit part, here too it is followed by a clearly distinguishable closing part, written below with the conclusive Latin word *summa* with a sum of 8,000 silver thalers written behind.

As in this CB as a whole, the debit and credit side constitute a fully functional financial entry, it is altogether also followed by a closing part – title and name of the author of this CB – *M[agister] Johannes Eriici Stregnensis*, which is written exclusively in Latin, and thus differs in terms of both its linguistic performance as well as its function from the introductory part of the present CB.

As seen from the analysis of the multilingual CB from the AG period, they are rather multilingual, with tripartite structure and full of examples of code-switching. Rather remarkably, the debit and credit sides might differ in terms of both their overall length as well as their linguistic performance and the occurrence of code-switching. From the case study of the CB it occurred that in the debit side of the CB Swedish is the matrix language with some Latin interpolations. On the credit side, however, the matrix language is Latin and Swedish is used as the embedded language. Therefore, despite the fact that the Swedish interpolations constitute about one-fifth of all of the words, the occasions of code-switching remain rather low – all in all four occasions. In the content parts, the code-switching is intrasentential with examples of congruent lexicalization. Between the content and the closing part, on the other hand, the code-switching that occurs is intersentential due to the fact that the last part of the CB is written utterly in Latin with no examples of code-switching within this part whatsoever. Therefore, inside a single document many multilingual practices have been used side by side.

3.3.2. Multilingual trial balance

The corpus of trial balances (TB) extant from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* is in fact the only text group that comprises only multilingual documents. It is also the smallest sub-group in this chapter with a total number of preserved text-units of only 11. All documents but one are from the AG period, i.e. ten, and a single one from the AGC period.

In terms of length the TBs are rather similar to the multilingual CBs with 1.5 pages per TB on average, comprising 103 words. Most of the TBs are either in folio or quarto format single worksheets written either as one- or two-sided documents.

The structure of all of the TBs is tripartite. They always contain of a title as an introductory sentence containing the general name of the following content as well as either the year or the semester from which the following overview is given. The content part that follows comprises credit and debit totals per account presented also as double-entries in a table format. However, unlike the CBs, which usually provide an overview of annual debits and credits, in the TBs the documents might also contain data about a single semester as well. The content part is similarly to the CBs followed by a clear and visually distinctive closing part with the concluding Latin word *summa* with the exact amount in numbers.

In terms of linguistic performance all of the text-units are bilingual so that in the majority of the TBs – in eight – Swedish and Latin are mixed together so that Swedish is the matrix language and Latin is used for interpolations and is thus the embedded language. Seven of them are extant from the AG and a single one from the AGC period. On three occasions, the German matrix is mixed with some Latin interpolations, all of which are extant from the AG period like the majority of the TBs. Code-switching used in the multilingual TBs is utterly intrasentential and congruent lexicalization is preferred.

3.3.3. Multilingual analyses of trial balance

The analyses of trial balances (ATB) constitutes by far the largest sub-group within this chapter's data – a total of 301 text-units of which as many as 229 or 76% are multilingual. About two-thirds of these – 156 documents – are extant from the AG and about one-third – 73 documents – from the AGC period. Besides being the largest sub-group of financial documents, the ATBs are also the most voluminous in terms of word count. The average length of the multilingual ATBs is in fact the same as the monolingual ATBs – 237 words per page. As they all comprise approximately three folio size pages, then a single ATB comprises about 711 words on average. It is expected that the ATBs are longer than most of the other financial documents, especially the TBs, as they comprise longer verbal descriptions of the TBs.

The majority of the multilingual ATBs (220, i.e. 96%) follow a tripartite structure and the remaining nine (i.e. 4%) are bipartite. Similar to the other multilingual financial documents, the different parts of the ATBs are usually visually distinguishable. The first part is the introductory part or title of the documents that all of the tripartite text-units include, and the bipartite exclude. The content consists either clearly of different columns separated into credit and debit parts that have been explained over a page or two, or they have been presented alternately (i.e. debit with explanations, then credits etc.). The content part is clearly distinguished from the last part – closing part. In every ATB the closing part consists of the Latin summarizing word *Summa*. Occasionally under this the author of the record with time and place of writing it is also added.

The linguistic performance of the multilingual ATBs follows similar patterns to most of the other multilingual financial documents produced during the *Academia Dorpatensis*. Therefore, combinations of a vernacular, either German or Swedish as matrix languages, and Latin as an embedded language are preferred. However, the German-Latin written ATBs are used almost equally to those written in Swedish-Latin – 116 and 113 – respectively. Almost three-quarters (i.e. 85) of the German-Latin written ATBs are extant from the AG and the remaining 31 from the AGC period. About two-thirds of the Swedish-Latin ATBs are also extant from the AG, and thus about a third (i.e. 42 text-units) are from the AGC period. The multilingual ATBs are the only sub-group within this

chapter's data in which the majority of the text-units are written in a German matrix and not in Swedish. As most of them are preserved from the AG period in which Swedish was not yet the dominant vernacular; this outcome is rather logical.

3.3.4. Multilingual lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries

The corpus of multilingual lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries (LPSS) differs from all the other sub-groups of financial documents in terms of its linguistic preference. Namely LPSSs comprise the only sub-group within this chapter's data in which the total number of monolingual text-units exceeds the multilingual texts. The total number of all extant LPSSs is 43, and the multilingual text-units constitute just about one-third or 15 text-units (35%). The majority of these (i.e. 12) are extant from the AG and just three from the AGC period (cf. sub-chapter 3.2.3).

Multilingual LPSSs are mostly of folio format (12 text-units), with the exception of three LPSSs that are of quarto format. Yet, their average length is about one page and comprises 72 words on average.

Most of the multilingual LPSSs (13) follow a tripartite structure and just two are bipartite. When tripartite, the LPSSs consist of an introductory sentence as a title in which the name or short explanation of the document is given. For example, lists of stipendiaries usually comprise the introductory part in which either the exact year or the semester in which the scholarship was designated, is also given.

This part is always followed by the main part of the text-units, which are the lists of either stipendiaries and/or professors and other officials to whom either scholarships or salaries were designated. On seven occasions out of 15, the multilingual LPSSs are also provided with additional information added to the margins of the documents or, sometimes under the lists. The main part is followed by a visually distinguishable closing part, in which either the total sums of designated salaries or scholarships with the concluding Latin word *summa*, or on two occasions the Italian *saldo* with or without the time and place of creating the document are added.

In terms of the languages used, the multilingual LPSSs again differ from all other sub-groups of financial documents from the *Academia Dorpatensis* – vernaculars either Swedish or German are mixed with Latin, and twice even German with Italian. However, unlike the ATBs, Latin is used in LPSSs as the matrix language and a vernacular as the embedded language. Therefore, in nine lists out of 15, Latin is used as the matrix language and Swedish as the embedded language. Six of them are extant from the AG and three from the AGC period. There are also four examples in which the Latin matrix is mixed with some German interpolations, and two in which the German matrix contains interpolations in Italian. All those text-units are preserved from the AG period.

Therefore, one can conclude that in the case of the corpus of LPSSs, the influence of Latin is rather evident both in the utterly monolingual as well as multilingual text-units. The code-switching used in multilingual LPSSs is mostly intrasentential. However, with examples of the usage of Italian embedding, it is intersentential between the last sentence of the German-written content and the summarizing word in the closing part that has been written in Italian.

3.3.5. Multilingual cash orders of receiving scholarships and salaries

The corpus of cash orders for receiving scholarships and salaries (CORSS) is one of the smallest consisting of 15 text-units. Of them the majority (i.e. 11 text-units or 73%) are multilingual, as in most of the other sub-groups of financial documents. Here too, most of them (9) are extant from the AG and just two from the AGC period.

The multilingual CORSSs, as with the monolingual ones, do not follow any certain format nor visually clearly discernable structure; therefore, it is rather difficult to determine the exact parameters of each of the multilingual CORSSs. Yet, what is certain is the fact that each of them are written on one side of a small, often even ragged shred of paper. The average length of those text-units is about 23 words.

Still, out of the 11 multilingual CORSSs, eight could be considered to contain a bipartite structure. In those, the documents start with the main part; that is, the content, and might be followed with either a date and/or the name of the author. The remaining three multilingual CORSS documents, however, comprise only the main part (i.e. the content). On those occasions both the date and the name of the author are added within the text itself, and so the author has not repeated it again.

In terms of linguistic performance, the multilingual CORSSs are exactly like the ATBs, TBs and rather similar to the LPSSs. Namely, they all use either a Swedish or German vernacular mixed with Latin. On nine occasions, the Swedish matrix is mixed with Latin embedded. Seven of them are extant from the AG and just two from the AGC period. The combinations of German matrix with some Latin interpolations occur on two occasions, all of which are extant from the AG period – the same occurrence as was evident in multilingual TBs, CBs and LPSSs, confirming the fact that language combinations with German were almost exclusively used only in the financial documents preserved from the AG period.

3.3.6. Multilingual different receipts

The overall corpus of different receipts (DR) consists of 33 text-units, of which the majority – 27 or 82% – are in fact multilingual. Rather remarkably, it is the only sub-group in which the extant number of documents from the AGC period exceeds the equivalent amount from the AG period – 14 and 13 text-units, respectively.

In terms of structure, the DRs consist of one-page documents written using a number of different formats from duodecimal to quarto. On average, each document comprises 26 words like the monolingual DRs.

The majority of the multilingual DRs follow the bipartite structure (17) that starts right from the content which is followed by the concluding word with or without a signature by the author.

Tripartite DRs, on the other hand, include an introductory sentence as a title in which the exact type of DR is often defined.

The linguistic performance of the multilingual DRs provides a little variety to the overall linguistic pattern of financial documents. Namely, besides mixing either German or Swedish with Latin, DRs provide an example in which another vernacular with Latin is used – French.

Similar to the other multilingual financial documents of this chapter, the vast majority of all of the multilingual DRs comprise Swedish as ML with some Latin interpolations – 20 text-units, of which seven are preserved from the AG and 13 in fact from the AGC period. German as ML with Latin as EL occurs in six DRs all from the AG period, without an example from the AGC period – a practice most popular in multilingual financial documents when mixing German and Latin together. On one occasion, however, the French matrix contains a Latin interpolation – a text-unit extant from the AGC period.

As the previously given example is the only one from the corpus of financial documents in which French is used in a multilingual text-unit, it will be studied in more depth in the following case study in sub-chapter 3.3.6.1.

3.3.6.1. Case study: multilingual summary receipt from 1707 as an exceptional example of financial documents from the *Academia Dorpatensis*

The only example in which French is mixed with Latin within the corpus of this chapter's material has been chosen for the following analysis. It is in fact a summary receipt addressed from the language master of the AGCP period,¹⁰³ Jaques Massot,¹⁰⁴ written around 1707 to five of the AGCP students of his private French lessons (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 92; Hiio and Piirimäe 2007: 69) –

¹⁰³ This summary receipt is kept in Swedish National Archives in Stockholm, in fond Livonia II, vol. 472 (unpaginated document).

¹⁰⁴ About Jaques Massot cf. Rauch 1943: 402–403 and Piirimäe 1982: 92.

Ragvaldus Billingsberg, Benedictus Morin, Magnus Schansberg, Samuel Flodin and Abraham Dahlman (cf. Illustration 5).¹⁰⁵

*Memoire de ce que Messieurs les Etudiants
me doivent pour leurs informations en la langue-françoise*
Premierement Monsieur Ragvaldus Billingsberg
pour cinq mois d'informations vingt-cinq Carolins c'est-à-dire cinq
Carolins par mois; Outre cela je luy ay prêté un louis d'or
de France qui vaut deux ducats, et une médaille d'argent du Roy
de Pologne d'apportant qui vaut cinq Carolins le tout quarante
quatre Carolins — — — — — 44. car.
Monsieur Benoist Morin pour cinq mois d'informations
vingt-cinq Carolins c'est-à-dire cinq Carolins par mois — — — — — 25. car.
Monsieur Magnus Schansberg pour trois mois d'informations
dix-neuf Carolins et quatre sols c'est-à-dire deux écus par mois comme
nous sommes convenus ensemble — — — — — 19. car. 4. sols
Monsieur Samuel Flodin pour trois mois d'informations quinze
Carolins c'est-à-dire cinq Carolins par mois — — — — — 15. car.
Monsieur Abraham Dahlman pour trois mois d'informations
quinze Carolins c'est-à-dire cinq Carolins par mois, et un carolin que
je luy ay prêté — — — — — 16. car.
Summa — — — — — 119. car. 4. sols
J. Massot
maître de Langue

Illustration 5. Summary receipt from the end of the AGCP period (RA, Livonica II, vol. 472)

This receipt is in fact one of three multilingual CBs within this chapter's corpus that comprises tripartite structure written in a quarto format. It is longer from account of words from the rest of the receipts due to fact that all five separate receipts are represented as one, i.e. as a summary receipt. Therefore altogether the summary receipt consists of 145 words being six times longer from the average receipt. However, when divided into separate parts, each one is almost in accordance with the average of the DRs from length.

¹⁰⁵ Ragvaldus Billingsberg was a student of Jurisprudence, Benedictus Morin studied Theology and Magnus Schansberg was also a student of Theology. They were all Swedes matriculated to the AGCP on the same day – July 18, 1706 (cf. Tering 1984: 384–385, entries no 1633, 1634, 1632, respectively). Samuel Flodin was a Swede and a student of Philosophy, matriculated on September 5, 1707 (cf. *Ibidem* 389, entry no 1662). Abraham Dahlman was a philosophy student from Finland, matriculated on September 21, 1706 (cf. *Ibidem* 385, entry no 1638).

The summary receipt begins with a 16 word long introductory sentence (as a title) comprising of a general addressing to the students, yet without mentioning any names of the addressees there. It is written exclusively in French with no examples of CS what so ever:

*/.../ Memoire de ce que Messieurs les Etudiants /
me doiuent pour leurs informations en la langue françoise /.../.*

The following content part is divided into five smaller content parts, so that each of them comprises the name of the addressee (a student) provided with a short explanation for what and how much money is required, with subtotals under each entry.

When dividing the content into smaller sub-parts, their lengths would be as follows: 1) 48 words, 2) 14 words, 3) 24 words, 4) 15, and the last one 5) 21 words long. Each of them again comprise only of French words and comprise rather similar content. For example, the last sub-part of the content is as follows:

*/.../ Monsieur Abraham Dahlman pour trois mois d'informations /
quinze carolins cêt-à-dire cinq carolins par mois, et un carolin que /
je luy ay prête ----- 16: car[olins] /.../.*¹⁰⁶

The very last part of the summary receipt is visually discernable from the content part, comprising of the total sum for all five students with a conclusive word in Latin – *summa*, and is considered here as the closing part. Below the Latin word *summa* the signature of the author, i.e. Jaques Massot with his title (*maitre de langue*) are written in French:

*/.../ **Summa** ----- 119: Car[olins]: 4: sols __ /
JMassot
maitre de l'angue /.../.*

Therefore, the only place where code-switching occurs is the closing part. All in all it consists of seven words so that six are in French which is also the matrix language, and a single one in Latin which is thus also the embedded language. Code-switching that does occur is intrasentential between French and Latin. In

¹⁰⁶ The official monetary units used during the early modern period, including the period of *Academia Dorpatensis*, were the Swedish thalers also called *specie*-thalers or *courant*-thalers. However, occasionally the other type of monetary – *carolin*-thalers – were also used. They were equal to six silver marks which in turn was about 48 silver ores (the equivalent for “ore” in French was *sols* which was derivated from Latin *solidus*) (cf. more about the monetary used in the Baltic provinces during the early modern period in an article from Enn Küng written in 2013: Riigitaalrite kasutusest Rootsi Läänemereprovintside 17. sajandil. In: Enn Küng, Kersti Lust (eds). *Majanduslik uuenemine Balti provintside. II. Economic modernization in the Baltic provinces. II. Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 144 (2). Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus: Tartu, 183–201, esp. pp. 189–190).

this case the sub-type of intrasentential code-switching is insertions – a single word added in the end of the receipt to conclude the above given sums of money. In some contexts that word might be considered as an example of cultural borrowing, but as mentioned also in the introduction of this thesis, here such a distinction has not been made due which this word is considered as code-switch instead.

In addition, code-switching that might occur within the receipt can also take place between the very last sentence of the last sub-part of the content as well as the first word of the closing part, and thus the code-switching could also be intersentential.

As the author of the receipt is a language master who mainly taught French and his addressees most probably attended his course, it is rather logical outcome that this DR is written also almost utterly in French matrix with a single Latin interpolation which, in turn, was rather formulaic term used in most of the financial documents of the *Academia Dorpatensis*.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter of the financial documents of the *Academia Dorpatensis* provides a range of different kinds of accounting and financial documents from detailed cashbooks with rather strict structure and format to random receipts and cash orders with or occasionally without a clear structure nor format.

However, almost each single financial text-unit has either of bi- or tripartite structure, all of which are also clearly visually distinguishable.

Despite the fact that all of the extant text-units are handwritten and contain text-units with multilingual practices, from their linguistic performance the financial documents are rather consistent. All of the text-units with multilingual practices are bilingual and consist either of German and/or Swedish with combinations of Latin as in the majority of the text-units, with two exceptions of Italian and one of French. The use of matrix languages and embedded languages varies in different text-units so that either a vernacular or a Latin can be used as the matrix language or the embedded language and vice versa. In the majority of the text-units the code-switching is intrasentential with occurrence of congruent lexicalization, and in just a few occasions insertions in the embedded language are used instead.

Therefore, there is a clear tendency for this sub-genre of written academic heritage from the *Academia Dorpatensis* to be rather formulaic towards multilingual practices. For example, the word *summa* that is the most formulaic is used throughout almost each and every sub-group of financial documents.

As the overall proportion of monolingual financial documents in this chapter's data is extremely low, and amongst the multilingual text-units the matrix language is not Latin as in the majority of other text-units of the thesis material, this is a clear indication of the most thorough transition from Latin to vernaculars amongst the whole academic written heritage of *Academia Dorpatensis*.

4. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN INSTRUCTIONAL TEXTS FROM *ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS*

4.1. Overview of the mono- and multilingual instructional text corpus

The focal point of the present chapter is the instructional and scientific hand-written as well as printed academic texts produced within the early modern period of the *Academia Dorpatensis*.¹⁰⁷ The corpus of material for the present chapter will be analysed thoroughly from the linguistic point of view, and thus a distinction between mono- and multilingual text-units will be made in order to indicate the linguistic performance with a focus on multilingual practices as well as the most common practices and patterns used in the historical academic production of the 17th century University of Dorpat.

Yet, in order to set some rather logical limitations to the present study material, it has to be mentioned here that multilingual practices between different Classical languages, e.g. Latin and Greek or Hebrew, Greek and Hebrew, and other such combinations will not be discussed in this chapter. However, all of those occasions of mixing classical languages between one another will be included in the overall statistics. One of the major reasons for this exclusion from the analysis is the total volume of the corpus material for the present study, as well as the fact that the main focus of the study is drawn on the gradual linguistic transition from Latin, as one of the most important and potentially most often used languages of science in the academe (as well as in this corpus data) during the early modern period of Europe, to vernacular languages.

The collected corpus for this chapter of instructional and scientific academic text-units incorporates all the extant academic data created by and for students and professors as well as scholars for educational purposes. For instance, it comprises all the data in connection of regulations over holding lectures, study material for instruction as well as exercises written within by the students within the *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656) and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690–1710) periods.

The study material is divided into three major groups taking into account both the main objectives of producing those texts as well as the main interest and social groups to whom those texts most probably were directed. In addition, each group is, in turn, sub-divided into smaller groups according to the explicit text types they comprise:

¹⁰⁷ In the present thesis the term “instructional” is used to refer to all the academic texts produced for educational purposes (i.e. as a study material for studying as well as the basis for giving lectures, such as material regulating lectures, and exercises by students). According to the OED the term “instructional” refers to something “of or pertaining to instruction or teaching” or something that is “educational” or “conveying instruction or information” [cf. Pp. 1050], which is thus applicable to the content of this chapter.

- (1) text-units regulating teaching processes, i.e. regulative materials for holding academic lectures (directed to both, students and professors):
 - a) catalogues of lectures (*Catalogus Lectionum (Publicarum)*) (printed texts, casually, with just a single extant example from AG, and a number of imprints from AGC period),¹⁰⁸
- (2) instructional text-units, such as teaching materials, i.e. locally compiled, translated and/or adapted textbooks¹⁰⁹ for local university studies and teaching purposes at any degree level which were printed in Tartu either as the *editio princeps* or re-edited and thus reprinted multiple editions that were mainly directed to professors for preparing both their public and private lectures as well as courses:
 - a) textbooks (printed voluminous text-units, from AG and AGC period),¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ The majority of all of the extant lecture catalogues, i.e. 15 catalogues out of 16, are from AGC period, and just one from AG. All of the original catalogues are kept in Sweden, in Swedish National Archives in Stockholm, in fond Livonica II (some additional photocopies are kept in MRBD, Tartu as well). Despite the fact that the overall number of extant lecture catalogues is rather low, and the majority of them is from AGC period, thus not providing us with a lot of diachronical comparison material, they still give us a sort of framework of how the lectures were supposed to be held including all the additional information, e.g. which authors should have been thought by, when the lectures took place etc. Constitutions (both, from 1650 and 1690), on the other hand, which among many other regulations, also stipulated the instructional work at the Academy have not been included to this sub-division of regulative texts, due to constitutions being defined from the higher level all the decrees and regulations how the Academy as an institution had to be governed, and thus are considered as more legislative from their character. They were analysed under chapter 1, in the sub-chapter “1.2.2. Constitutions”.

¹⁰⁹ The term “textbook” is in this study used in terms of the main function of the book’s purpose as well as its content. E.g. the primary function of the commented collections of poems by Classical authors was not, at least in the academic context, to offer enjoyment for the readers, but foremost they, as well as all the other textbooks, were considered as practical teaching materials that were adapted for holding either private or public lectures (cf. more about the context of using textbooks in early modern Europe in Campi, De Angelis, Goeing, Grafton 2008, pp. 11–36).

¹¹⁰ Attention has to be drawn here to the fact that 10 textbooks out of 13 were compiled and first published during *Academia Dorpatensis* either during AG or AGC period. The remaining three textbooks were first compiled elsewhere than in Tartu: **(1)** The first textbook was an edition of Greek authors comprising poems of Pseudo-Pythagoras, Phocylides and Theognis – a trio of poets, whose poems were edited together with or without translation and commentary by different humanist editors since 1539 with the (*Crato Mylius*’ (Kraft Müller)) edition from Strasbourg, and re-edited after that again and again, including Michael Neander’s *Opus aureum* printed in Basel in 1559 as well as an edition printed in 1646 in Dorpat by Johannes Georgii Gezelius. Translations in different editions differ as do the structure of the books. In addition, two authors of the above-mentioned three – Pseudo-Pythagoras and Phocylides – appear together already a few decades earlier, in Konstantinos Laskaris’ Greek manual published by Aldus Manutius in 1495 and 1502 (cf. Graecogermania 1989, pp. 36–37; Barbaros ou pelomai...Exhibition catalogue 2014, pp. 39). Nevertheless, each edition is bilingual – original poems are written in Greek which are translated into Latin, and were used for teaching purposes (cf. Baumbach, Bär 2012: 16). Namely, such a triad edition was mentioned already in the Braunschweig (Brunswick)

(3) text-units reflecting the learning processes, i.e. text-units created during practical teaching and learning in the form of poetical and prose exercises which were produced either by the professors as exemplary texts for student's disputations, or by the students during the different courses of their studium in *Academia Dorpatensis*¹¹¹. For contemporaries, they reflect both proficiency in the acquisition of knowledge as well as linguistic skills:

- a) academic occasional poetry which was written for academic events; printed throughout the AG and AGC periods as gratulatory poems at the end of dissertations, disputations and orations, or as separate collections (such as farewell/valedictory poems (*carmina pro-pemptica*)),¹¹²
- b) student exercises in style (incl. *progymnasmata*) were manuscripts, exclusively from the first decade of the AGC period, around the mid-1690s,¹¹³

school ordinance as study material meant to be used as instructional material in universities (cf. Henze 1990:4 3).

In Gezelius' edition on the title page it is said that with Theognis' poems, Philip Melanchthon's Latin translation is used (*verbum verbo*), and for the other two Greek authors' the exact names of the translators have not been given. Yet, when comparing different editions it occurs that the Latin translations of Theognis' poems actually differ, which, in turn, means that Gezelius has change the wording in his Latin translation. And, in order to perhaps justify these changes, in the foreword of his edition he claims Dorpat's edition to be partly old and partly renewed (*partim cum interpretatione nova, partim antiqua*), and in fact even re-edited (*recudi*) – meaning that the author himself cognizes the fact his edition is a reprint.

(2) The second is Sueno Tiliander's grammar book that was first published already in 1670 in Stade, Germany, after that in 1672 in Västerås in Sweden, and was then re-printed in 1691 in Dorpat in an adapted form. (3) The third textbook, which in fact is a collection of disputations, was written resp. collected by Petrus Hoffwenius first in 1678 in Stockholm (with the length of 136 pages). The second edition was printed in 1698 in Stockholm and supplemented with figures (i.e. woodcuts), and its length was 107 pages. The third edition was printed in 1699 in Pernau, and its editing was initiated by the AGC professor of medicine Laurentius Braun. The length of the third edition was 126 pages. Each edition also consists of 17 disputations.

¹¹¹ The actual authorship of the academic texts, i.e. dissertations and disputations, but also of occasional poetry in the Early modern period is rather questionable, because there is a lot of debate over who really wrote those texts, whether the presiding professor or the student. Cf. in M. Benner, E. Tengström 1977: 15–17; Ku-ming (Kevin) Chang 2004: 151.

¹¹² The sub-group of "academic occasional poetry" incorporates all the known occasional poems from *Academia Dorpatensis* written for academic events by students, professors and/or other scholars. As the actual authorship of the poems remains on some occasions unknown (see footnote 95 above), distinct differentiation on the basis of poems' authors will not be made in the present study. All the other occasional poems, which are more representative in terms of style and thus aimed for out of the Academy purposes, such as *weddings, deaths* etc, will be analysed in more detail in chapter 5.2.4. and 5.3.3.

¹¹³ Students' style exercises are kept in Tartu University Library Collections of the Manuscripts and Rare Books Department (i.e. MRBD), F. 7–35, *Academia Gustaviana. Academia Gustavo-Carolina. Arbeiten und Erklärung von Studenten der Academia Gustavo-Carolina. In der Zeitspanne 1690 und 1710*.

- c) dissertations and disputations¹¹⁴ (predominantly printed texts produced throughout the AG and AGC periods)¹¹⁵, as well as orations¹¹⁶ (also printed throughout the AG and AGC periods).

First of all, to give an overview of the corpus of mono- and multilingual texts, the statistical information about the sub-groups of instructional texts must be explained, drawing focus on the proportions and linguistic performance of the text-units. In order to better comprehend the amount of material in this corpus, the proportions are given both as the count of text-units and the total number of words under each sub-group.

The corpus relevant for this chapter comprises all of the extant manuscripts and printed instructional text-units incorporating a total of 1,751 text-units of which a considerable number (1,712 or 98%) are printed texts and just 39 (2%) are manuscripts. The majority of the texts, as much as three-quarters (i.e. 1,320 text-units or c. 75%), were produced during the *Academia Gustaviana*, and almost three times less, almost a quarter of the texts (i.e. 431 or c. 25%) during the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* period.

Despite the huge proportional differences in this chapter's study material, especially when taking into account both the total number of extant manuscripts and prints as well as large differences in text production between the two periods of *Academia Dorpatensis*, instructional texts altogether constitute only approximately one-quarter (i.e. 22.5%) of the whole extant written academic heritage of *Academia Dorpatensis* (total of 7,831 text-units). Yet, when taking into account the variety and length of the material in pages, these academic

¹¹⁴ Here dissertations and disputations are put together in the same group because it is not always possible to clearly distinguish between them, and thus they are often, as in here too, used as synonyms. Under the term "disputation" a variety of printed texts on different topics were meant that had to be orally presented and to have a public debate over them. The term "dissertation" is not so often used on the title pages of such-like prints than the term "disputation" (e.g. in just ca 7% of AG's and 48% of AGC's printed texts comprise "dissertation" on their title pages). In addition, as terms "dissertation" and "disputation" are considered as synonyms, other terms were often used on the title pages to refer to those texts. E.g. instead of *dissertatio* and *disputatio*, the following terms were used: *discursus*, *exercitatio*, *specimen*, *theses* etc (cf. Jaanson 2000: 42).

The originals of all of the dissertations and disputations are kept in Uppsala University Library (*Carolina Rediviva*); photocopies are kept in MRBD, in catalogue R.Acad.Dorp.

¹¹⁵ Dissertations and disputations produced within *Academia Dorpatensis* where predominantly printed texts (i.e. 647 texts out of 648, constituting as much as 99.85% of the whole disputation and dissertation text corpus). Among those texts there is just a single exception of handwritten texts, which constitutes only as little as ca 0.15% of the total number of this-like texts.

¹¹⁶ Academic orations can be divided into two main groups – examination-alike orations that were rather abstract disquisitions, and a number of orations for festive occasions. The latter ones – orations held for festive occasions - will not be further studied in this chapter, but in chapter 5 instead (all the originals are kept in Uppsala University Library (UB, *Carolina Rediviva*, and photocopies in MRBD).

texts are ground material for one of the most compendious chapters of the present thesis.

This rather low percentage has to be explained taking into consideration the proportions of the texts in some sub-groups which are extant today. On the one hand, it is possible that some text groups were more favorable in the Academy than some others, and therefore writing other types of more formal texts was preferred to instructional texts. On the other hand, for instance, there are less texts extant to this day from the AGC period due to the fact that the AGC period was five years shorter than the AG, and the production of academic dissertations and disputations, for instance, during the AGC was even more than five times smaller (550 during the AG and 98 during the AGC). The low percentage of academic dissertations and disputations under some faculties (such as the faculty of Medicine) can be explained in terms of the difficulties in fulfilling some professorships, such as the professor of Medicine (cf. Inno 1972: 109).¹¹⁷ Yet, as the second period's academic data was more varied consisting of a number of text types that were not or were hardly ever produced during the AG period¹¹⁸, such as student exercises and lecture catalogues, the smaller amount of the extant material from the AGC can also be just a coincidence.

However, not a single lecture note either from professors or students from the *Academia Dorpatensis* has remained to the present day. Yet, as from the other early modern universities a large sub-group of such handwritten texts is extant (cf. Lindberg 2014: 8, 14, 18–21), we can only assume that they must have existed in Tartu too. Such gaps in the academic data of different universities modify our ideas about the relativity of the statistics on text-units and text groups on a large scale.¹¹⁹

The total number of exclusively monolingual instructional text-units (considering the division of sub-groups) is 1,620 (92.5%), and 131 (7.5%) contain multilingual practices. The fact that monolingual texts exceed the number of multilingual writings by slightly more than 12 times, is due to the great number of shorter writings by students. Such writings are predominantly occasional poetry and student style exercises (*progymnasmata*), where every one is considered as a single text-unit. Yet, the mere number of text-units creating some text groups does not always reflect the actual proportions between different writings, nor indicate that one group outnumbers the other. In order to show the

¹¹⁷ During both the AG and AGC periods, the number of professors under the faculty of Medicine was set at two, but in reality only one position was filled and even that with breaks (cf. Inno 1972: 109–110).

¹¹⁸ One of the assumptions for why there are less different text types known from the AG period might simply be the fact that some of the text types are not extant and thus we do not have enough information about them.

¹¹⁹ For instance, from the Early Modern period of Lund university, there are extant examples of lecture notes and annotations taken by the students of professor Samuel Puffendorf's lectures (cf. edition by Bo Lindberg 2014: 8, 14, 18–21). This material makes it possible to better understand which information students were able to grasp as well as which was considered important to emphasize.

exact relationship between mono- and multilingual text-units, the precise number of words in both groups also must be given.

Within the corpus of instructional text-units the lengthiest are printed monolingual dissertations and disputations due to the fact that they outnumber all the other writings in terms of their amount, and monolingual textbooks that vary between 20–400 pages in length. Academic occasional poems, on the other hand, which in comparison to the latter writings are considerably shorter – in terms of length just 2 verses up to 63, with an average of 6 words per verse – still constitute quite a large percentage of the whole corpus, due to the multitude of single poems.

The total number of words in monolingual texts is 1,919,112 or 75% of the entire corpus of instructional academic texts, of which printed texts comprise as much as 1,916,188 (99.8%) words, and manuscripts just as little as 2,923 (0.2%). The equivalent proportions in the practice of multilingual texts are in smaller quantities – the total number of words in multilingual texts is 637,696 (constituting 25% of the entire corpus of instructional academic texts) of which printed texts constitute 637,538 (99.9%), and manuscripts notably just 158 (0.1%) words.

Despite the fact that the majority of the texts are monolingual, which are also the lengthiest text-units, there are still a number of multilingual texts as well, which in most instances are also shorter in length. Approximately 5% of all of the shorter writings always tend to show multilingual practices, which nonetheless the scarce overall amount of those texts, is still an important indicator of language change, especially when studying the occurrence of multilingual practices.

To provide a slightly different perspective to the multifaceted study material, its linguistic development will also be analysed chronologically according to different text types.

To start with, all of the extant **lecture catalogues** (total number 16) are predominantly from the second period of the early modern University of Dorpat, and just a single imprint is from *Academia Gustaviana* period (cf. more in sub-chapter 4.2.1.). The presumption for creating lecture catalogues was that they were supposed to be printed very frequently, every year once a semester¹²⁰, and they were exclusively written in Latin, they reflect both the tradition of using Latin as the language of the academe of the early modern period, as well as the tendency towards monolingual practices when writing regulative documents (cf. sub-chapter 1.2. from above).

Second, instructional text-units such as **textbooks** that were the very basis for holding lectures, and which, in turn, were also the most voluminous text-units with an overall average of approximately 156 pages per textbook, were

¹²⁰ It should be mentioned here as an explanatory remark that (as we can assume from the given overall number of extant lecture catalogues) this precept of producing those for every semester was not followed properly. The real situation surrounding the creation of those catalogues is discussed in sub-chapter 4.2.1.

written and printed within both periods of *Academia Dorpatensis* so that 9 out of 13 in the *Academia Gustaviana* and 4 in the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* period.¹²¹

Six textbooks out of the nine from the AG period were printed in the 1640s, which also seems to be the most productive decade in the print shop of the Academy. Textbooks printed within this decade are also the most voluminous ones with 201 pages on average. This is also an indicator of the correlation between the number and length of the books – the more books in the decade, the lengthier each of those textbooks are. The remaining three of the nine were printed in the mid-1650s.¹²²

Out of four textbooks printed in the first decade of the AGC period, when the University was still located in Tartu, just one textbook was for language studies, and not a single textbook, whatsoever, was printed in the second period in Pernau from the 1700s onwards.¹²³

The fact that as much as 2/3 of the textbooks from the AG period were all printed within the same decade – the 1640s – can be considered a rather logical outcome against the background of the general printing activity of that time.¹²⁴

The fact that there is not a single textbook printed in the 1630s nor the 1700s can be explained by the threat of war during those decades, and so the total printed material within those periods is rather low (Jaanson 2000: 38).¹²⁵ On account of this constant threat of war during the 1700s especially, the lack of printed books can also be explained by the fact that the university library as well as the archive were all packed into the University's cellar and – in case of any threat – ready to be sent to Reval or Stockholm (Piirimäe 1982: 129–130).¹²⁶ Therefore, access to the existing textbooks was rather limited, which, in

¹²¹ Cf. Footnote 110 above.

¹²² During the AG period, textbooks were printed in the following years: 1646, two textbooks in 1647 and in 1648 respectively, and one textbook in each of the following years: 1649, 1652, 1654, 1655.

¹²³ During the AGC period, on the contrary, all four textbooks were printed during its first, so-called Tartu period, in 1691, 1692 and two textbooks in 1699, respectively.

¹²⁴ During the 1640s, the indicators of academic production were the highest, for example in 1642 there were 63 imprints and in 1647 as many as 54. Only in 1648 during which 2 textbooks were printed, was the total number of annual imprints below the average (34 out of 36, respectively) (cf. Jaanson 2000: 40). During the AGC period, the most active year for the University's print shop was 1693 with 52 imprints (which is more than two times the average of 24 imprints) (cf. *Ibidem* 41).

¹²⁵ During the 1630s and 1640s the threat of Thirty Year War reaching the region was acute. During 1650s there were many threats, such as Russo-Polish War (1654–1667) during which in November 1655 Riga was besieged, and Russo-Swedish War (1656–1658) that reach Dorpat in July of 1656. During the AGCP period the Great Northern War (1700–1721) was the biggest threat of all (cf. more in Laidre 2008, especially on page 352).

¹²⁶ The professor most eager to pack the library and send it to Reval, was Michael Dau, who wanted to protect the academic heritage of the *Academia Dorpatensis*. Yet without a fully functioning library, the university could barely exist (cf. Krēsliņš 2010: 272). And as the political situation went even worse during the summer of 1700, Academy's rector decided in August 1700 to give the Academy's insignia to the archive which, in turn, meant that the

turn, affected the overall scarceness of textbooks, which in most cases were compilations of other authors' works, within the above mentioned years.¹²⁷

When dividing those textbooks according to their subject fields, and also taking into account both the faculties under and for which purposes the textbooks were printed, as well as the subject fields and respective competence of the supervising professors, the division is as follows:

- 1) under the Faculty of Philosophy 12 textbooks out of 13 were printed, so that 9 were printed during the AG and 3 during the AGC period. Seven textbooks out of 12 were for language studies: 4 for studying Greek grammar, 1 for Hebrew, 1 for local German students to study Swedish via Latin, and 1 for studying Estonian grammar via Latin and German. In the latter, some explanations were given in Latin and Estonian, but the nomenclature of the terminology used as well as the vocabulary was given in both German and Estonian. In all of those grammar textbooks at least some comments were also given in Latin. In addition, one edition for courses in poetics was in parallel Greek and Latin text so that the original text was in Greek and its translation given in Latin. All the commentaries though were given in Latin. Just a single textbook was printed for studying mathematics. The mathematic's textbook was written in the German matrix language with a few Latin interpolations, and the textbook for physics was, on the other hand, a monolingual treatise written exclusively in Latin. A single textbook was printed for philosophical studies in which German and Latin were mixed with one another. And just one treatise was written about logic during the AG period, and one on metaphysics during the AGC period.¹²⁸ Both of them were monolingual written exclusively in Latin.
- 2) Under the Faculty of Medicine just one textbook in Latin was printed during the AGC period. The printing of this treatise entitled *Synopsis physica* (printed in 1699) was initiated and also financed by the AGC professor of Medicine, Laurentius Braun (later after gaining a noble rank – Braunskiöld), who used it for the most part in his private lectures (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 236; Jaanson 2000: 52).¹²⁹

academic and instructional work of *Academia Dorpatensis* was discontinued for a while (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 132; fond 7, 27, pp. 98–102 and 139–141).

¹²⁷ The overall idea amongst Early Modern scholars when creating new treatises, was to represent ones thoughts over and over again in order to prove ones erudition within a text. This became a foundation of repeated collections of compilations (cf. Viiding 2009: 189, 195).

¹²⁸ This textbook was published by the professor of theoretical philosophy, Gabriel Sjöberg in 1692 and it was about metaphysics (*Metaphysica contracta*). In the foreword Sjöberg claims to have German and Swedish rolemodels, but as this books is written exclusively in Latin the languages used by his examples must have also been Latin as not a single occasion of multilingual practices occurs in this textbook.

¹²⁹ The third edition of "Synopsis physica" that was initially written by Petrus Hoffwenius – the most famous naturalist and the father of Medicine in Early Modern Sweden – was reprinted in Pernau (Pärnu) in 1699 by Laurentius Braun, professor of Medicine in the AGC.

It must also be mentioned here that not a single textbook was printed either under the Faculty of Jurisprudence nor the Faculty of Theology during the *Academia Dorpatensis*.

As occurred from above given twofold division, the linguistic performance of textbooks as instructional text-units is more likely to reflect language variety, change and multilingual practices (9 out of 13), a more thorough case study of one of the multilingual textbooks will be given in 4.3.3.2.

From the extant amount of student academic exercises and works, it occurs that the first period was vastly more productive in the writing of dissertations, orations and occasional poetry. The second period exceeds it only in the case of student handwritten style exercises and this only due to the fact that there was not a single style exercise extant from the AG period. The majority of the **occasional poems** for academic events that are extant, were written during the AG period (approximately 760 poems), which can also be explained by the greater number of printed dissertations and orations, at the end of which poems were usually written. From the AGC period the equivalent number is approximately 275. During the AG period poems were printed every year, so that they were most frequently printed in the 1640s, which was also the most productive decade for the University's print shop (cf. Jaanson 2000: 38).¹³⁰

In the AGC period, similar to textbooks, poems were most regularly printed in the first decade of the Academy; that is, during the 1690s in the AGCD. Amongst all of the poems just five are multilingual, three from the AG and two from the AGC period.

Handwritten student exercises, on the other hand, were all written in the first half of the AGC period in the mid-1690s. As we have no evidence of those exercises from the AG period, we can only assume that they were written then too, but it is impossible to prove. The total number of those exercises is 39 of which the majority (38) are monolingual (37 exclusively in Latin and one in Greek), and just a single exercise is a reflector of multilingual practices, in which the German frame language is mixed with some Latin interpolations.

The treatise consists of 17 disputations written on different topics from the field of physics. For example, the collections consisted of disputations written about stars, planets, metals etc. As during the 17th century natural science and medicine were closely related, and physics was also taught by the professor of medicine (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 228–229), this collection of disputations is considered the only teaching material printed under the Faculty of Medicine during the *Academia Dorpatensis*. See footnote 94 from above. (More about P. Hoffwenius in an article in a festschrift written in 1932 by E. S. Nylander – *Petrus Hoffwenius. Den svenska läkekonstens fader. Till 250-årsminnet av hans död den 23 maj 1682*. In Festschrift med anledning av Upsala Läkareförenings 100-årsjubileum 1932. Upsala läkareförenings förhandlingar. Ny följd, Vol. 38. 1–2.)

¹³⁰ The numbers of occasional poems are approximate, given according to Jaanson's bibliography (2000). As more and more of those poems are occasionally found after 2000, it is rather impossible to give here a finite total number of those poems, and therefore the numeric data used in this chapter relies greatly upon data given in Jaanson's bibliography. Therefore, the numbers of occasional poems used in the present book reflect the last systematic counting of them.

The most steadily produced and printed texts in the University of Dorpat throughout the 17th century were academic **dissertations, disputations and orations**, which were written almost every year with just a few exceptions. Taking into consideration the frequency with which academic dissertations and orations were printed, we can divide the AG period into three decades as follows:

- 1) 1630s (1632–1639): 89 printed dissertations and disputations, and 64 orations (all in all 153),
- 2) 1640s (1640–1649): 199 dissertations and disputations, and 81 orations (all in all 280), and
- 3) 1650s (1650–1656): 105 dissertations and disputations, and 12 orations (all in all 117).

Therefore, the total number of dissertations and disputations is 393 and of orations is 157 (all in all 550 imprints). Of those text-units, as many as 476 are mono- and 74 are multilingual. The multilingual texts were printed throughout the AG period, so that in the 1630s, 22 prints were multilingual, in the 1640s as many as 23, and in the 1650s the equivalent number is 29.

The AGC period, on the other hand, according to the frequency of printing academic dissertations, disputations and orations, can be divided as follows:

- 1) 1690s (1690–1699): 75 (printed) dissertations and disputations, and 6 orations (all in all 81),
- 2) 1700s (1700–1710): 16 dissertations and disputations, and 1 oration (all in all 17).

The total number of dissertations and disputations is 91 and orations is 7 (all in all 98 imprints). Of those text-units as many as 52 are mono- and 46 are multilingual. The multilingual texts which constitute almost a half of the texts from AGC period, were printed more frequently in the first half of the period (35) than the second half (11) during the 1690s and 1700s, respectively.

On the basis of printed dissertations and orations from the *Academia Dorpatensis*, we can conclude that those texts were the most receptive towards the shift from the common linguistic performance of academic instructional and scientific texts (i.e. from Latin) to a more frequent practice of language mixing, especially during the AGC period. The AGC period, and especially the first decade of it, can thus be regarded as a rather innovative period representing its openness to multilingual practices, even in linguistically rather conservative and fixed text-units. The second half of the AGC, on the other hand, the so-called Pernau period, lacked the rich variety of academic production and linguistic developments that were known for its Dorpat period, and was thus more a time for the banishment and maintenance of academic heritage. However, this does not mean that the 1700s represents a gradual return to producing more mono-

lingual texts, but that there are not as many text types extant to this day than from the 1690s due to the decrease of writing and thus printing academic texts.

On account of the great number of texts and wide variety of text types among the instructional texts at the end of the present chapter in sub-chapter 4.3.4., a number of passages from several exemplary texts have been chosen to most accurately indicate the linguistic performance carried out in the *Academia Dorpatensis* at the level of the individual preferences of faculties as well as students, professors and scholars.

Therefore, the exemplary analysis material for this chapter's case studies is taken from the following text-units which all reflect multilingual practices:¹³¹

- 1) an example of a printed academic **occasional (gratulatory) poem**, 1639,
- 2) handwritten student **style exercises**, 1707 (written by Adolphus Florianus Sigismundi and Fransiscus Heinricus Londicer),
- 3) a German-Swedish **textbook**, 1691,
- 4) printed **disputations, dissertations and orations** from both the AG and AGC period from the faculties of Theology, Jurisprudence, Philosophy as well as Medicine.

Although lecture catalogues are dissected as important fundamental academic writings under the heading of instructional texts, they will be dismissed from the case studies due to their monolingual character – they are written exclusively in just one language – here exclusively in Latin. Having said that, they will still be briefly discussed under the section on monolingual texts as essential comparative study material in 4.2.1.

4.2. Monolingual instructional texts

Monolingual instructional academic texts refer to texts produced within the *Academia Dorpatensis* for educational and scientific objectives, and written exclusively in one language; that is, whether in some learned language such as Latin (in 1,534 text-units) or in some instances, in Greek (43 text-units), or Hebrew (in 7 text-units), and occasionally even in vernaculars (14 text-units in German, 12 in Swedish, 5 in French, 4 in Estonian and 1 in Latvian, respectively).¹³² Monolingual texts written in vernaculars (totalling 36) also reflect the University's acceptance of languages other than Latin in student academic writings. All of those rather unconventionally written text-units are categorized under "academic occasional poetry", which, in turn, shows this sub-genre's

¹³¹ As there are examples taken from several academic dissertations, disputations and orations from both the AG and AGC period, the exact number of those writings has not been given here.

¹³² All of those monolingual texts are considered as this thesis' corpus material as well, occurring in both – the overall and this chapter's statistics.

greater openness to using languages other than Classical (and also perhaps a larger range of authorships as well).

Out of the triad division of instructional and scientific academic texts (characterized in the beginning of previous sub-chapter 4.1.) just one – text-units regulating teaching processes – comprises a sub-group of lecture catalogues. They, in turn, are indicators of the whole group of monolingual texts, written exclusively in Latin. In the following sub-chapter (ch. 4.2.1.) exclusively monolingual instructional texts' (mini)corpus will briefly be discussed from the point of its linguistic performance and importance in the academe of *Academia Dorpatensis*.

4.2.1. Catalogues of Lectures

Catalogues of lectures (*catalogi lectionum*) can be considered one of the most important as well as informative documents in relation to lectures at the *Academia Dorpatensis*. They comprise a schedule of all the lectures that were supposed to be taught during one semester. As one of their major goals was being informative (as well as regulative) documents, they were supposed to be printed out and put up twice a year for students and professors to follow. It was the rector's duty, after the catalogues were printed, to call upon students to be registered for the lectures (Inno 1972: 71). The Academy's constitutions designated which and how many lectures students had to attend within a single semester.¹³³

The very first notion, however, in *Academia Gustaviana*'s consistory protocols concerning lecture catalogues is from 23 May 1637, in which the rector requests professors to write down all the lectures they will hold in the following semester:

/.../ Rector rogat, ut D[omi]ni Professores consignent in charta lectiones hoc semestri habendas. /.../

and he also insisted students register themselves to the courses they planned to attend within the subsequent semester:

/.../ Jussu Magnifici] D[omi]n[i] Rectoris singuli studiosi certis subscribunt lectionibus. /.../
(Protokolle des Universitätskonsistorium, f. 7, vol. 6;3; Tering 1994: 18).

Yet, it seems that this practice was not followed carefully, which can be illustrated by the following entry from 25 September 1638:

¹³³ For instance, the first Constitutions decreed all the students to attend at least two public lectures and one language course; the second Constitutions, on the other hand, reported attendance in at least one public lecture in theology to be obligatory (cf. Inno 1972: 70–1).

/.../ 2. das der Rector eine designationem aller unter eines jeden Rectorats gehaltenen lectionen von allen Rectoribus [sic pro Professoribus] abfordern undt dem Camerario einliefern solte. /.../.

And it is subsequently concluded that professors have not properly submitted lecture catalogues for the previous years:

/.../ Concluditur Respondendum, quod lectionum ratio a Dominis Rectoribus [sic pro Professoribus] retro elapsis annis non accurate sit exhibita /.../
(Protokolle des Universitätskonsistorium, f. 7, vol. 7; 15; Tering 1994: 78).

Regardless of all of the precepts given according to the consistory protocols, it is known that during the *Academia Gustaviana* period the very first lecture catalogue was printed at the end of the period as late as 1651, which is 19 years after the university was established in 1632 (and 13 years after the above-given excerpt).¹³⁴

This process of starting to print catalogues was initiated by the Academy's vice-chancellor Zacharias Klingius, who was in office from 1650 onwards and who pointed out that the lack of printed catalogues, and, in turn, the lack of fulfilling the precepts of the Constitutions was as a major drawback at the Academy at the time (cf. Vasar 1932: 15; Piirimäe 1982: 50).

Therefore, it is not surprising that from all of the extant lecture catalogues (i.e. 16) there is just a single one extant from the AG period, from the year 1653 (cf. Jaanson 2000: 322, entry no. 772; call marker: R. Acad. Dorp. 1653:20). In total only three lecture catalogues were printed during the Academy's first period, and all of them during the 1650s, but the remaining lecture catalogues which were printed in 1651 (Jaanson 2000: 308, entry no. 690) and in 1655 (cf. Jaanson 2000: 337, entry no. 845), respectively, no longer exist.

All the remaining 15 catalogues are extant from the second, AGC period, when the practice of printing the catalogues was rather consistent. Despite the fact that lecture catalogues constitute only as little as 0.9% of the corpus of this chapter's material (i.e. out of 1,751 text-units), and therefore approximately 1% of all monolingual text-units (i.e. out of 1,652 monolingual text-units), they are still of great importance when analysing the corpus of academic instructional as well as scientific texts as a whole.

The average length of a lecture catalogue from the AG period is 542 words and the equivalent average in the AGC period catalogues is 560, which rather clearly shows that the length hardly varies between the different periods.

The choice of Latin in lecture catalogues must have thus been the general practice when writing such documents, representing regulatory documents, which were supposed to be informative and concrete in style. They are more formulaic than, for instance, some of legislative documents (cf. Ch. 1), due to consisting of a number of abbreviations, explicit terms and names of courses,

¹³⁴ Cf. Jaanson 2000 entry number 854 on page 337.

and at the same time, excluding all instances of allocutions as well as longer eloquent sentences.

When comparing those lecture catalogues from the AG and AGC period, this must be done taking into consideration what kind of information each single lecture entry carried.¹³⁵ It occurs that every entry incorporated at least the name and position of the professor, the description of the course (including the main treatises being used) and the exact times and places when and where the courses took place.

The main similarities and differences occur when analysing the structure of the catalogues from different periods as follows:

(1) the heading of the catalogues is in most cases quite the same, consisting of (with little variation) their title (*Catalogus lectionum publicarum*), followed almost exclusively by the name of the institution, whether *In Regia Academia Gustaviana Adolphina* in AG's catalogue, or *Academia Dorpatensis*, *Academia Pernaviensis* or no name at all in the AGC's documents.

This is followed by the exact date, e.g. */.../ pro anno sequentidie 20. Nov. An. 1653. /.../*¹³⁶, or the following semester and year – a practice followed mostly in the AGC period. For example:

/.../ Anni MDCCVII usque ad eandem Anni sequentis periodum /.../; /.../ ab initio Anni MDCCIII ad finem ejusdem proponere decreverunt /.../; /.../ Ab autumno anni 1696. ad annum sequentem ejusdem temporis /.../.

(2) The content of lectures in the AG period are given starting with lectures held by the rector of the Academy, and then follows a number of different subjects (with no obvious explanation to the order of the lectures whatsoever). In addition, the divisions between paragraphs are hardly emphasized. Just a single capital letter, which extends out by a space and refers to the professors forename, starts every new entry (in order to at least to some extent emphasize between different entries and subject matters). For example:

*/.../ Magnificus Rector M. Joachimus Schelenius, Ma-/
thematum inferiorum Professor Ordinarius] Deo /
volente Arithmeticam suam typis excusam explicabit hora duodecima. /.../.*¹³⁷

In the catalogues of the AGC period, on the other hand, the structure of the lectures seems to be more logical. The content part of every lecture catalogue

¹³⁵ Yet, there are no precepts (not in the Consistory protocols nor in the Constitutions) on what kind of information those catalogues were supposed to comprise, which means that one can only assume that the catalogue printed in 1653 followed the example of the very first but non-existent catalogue from 1651.

¹³⁶ All the excerpts from the AG period lecture catalogue are taken from the only extant catalogue of that period, i.e. from 1653 (it is kept in MRBD with cross-index of R.Acad. Dorp. 1653:20 (cf. Jaanson 2000, entry no. 772 on page 322).

¹³⁷ Cf. Jaanson 2000: 322, entry no. 772; call marker: R. Acad. Dorp. 1653:20.

entry starts with capitalized Faculty of Theology (which is followed by other faculties prioritized by importance, so that the Faculty of Theology is followed by the faculties of Jurisprudence, Medicine and Philosophy), followed by the name and position of the professor (also capitalized), the name and content of the subject and, in most cases, the exact time and place the lecture takes places, for example:

/.../ In Facultate Theologica. / OLAUS MOBERG, S[acrae] Theol[ogiae] / D[octo]r & Prof[essor] Prim[arius] Librum Proverbiorum Regum Sapientissimi Salomonis, /.../ (cf. Jaanson 2000: 405, entry no. 1254).

These entries usually end with information about the time and place the lecture takes place:

/.../ Docebit h[ora] IX. in Auditorio Majori /.../ or /.../ Doceb[it] publ[ice] hor[a] I. in Audit[orio] Min[ori]. /.../ (Ibidem).

It is evident from the above that lecture catalogues can be considered as rather formulaic documents, including their monolingual character, which had not yet switched from Classical Latin to vernaculars. The majority of the lecture catalogues (i.e. 15 out of 16) have two-part structure, consisting of a short introduction with the name (or headline) of the document, and the content (i.e. description of different lectures). However, one catalogue from the AGC period (from 1708) has a triad structure – at the end of the document an extra item of information about the typographer is also given:

/.../ Excudit Johannes Brendeken, Typographus Regius. /.../ (RA, Livonica II, f. 0682),

and therefore, this catalogue resembles (especially in terms of structure) the legislative documents, which also had a tripartite division.

As the lecture catalogues represent examples of monolingual academic texts, they will not be analysed here any further in more detail.

4.3. Multilingual instructional and scientific texts

Multilingual instructional and scientific academic texts are texts written in more than one language; that is, in this chapter (written) in Latin mixed with some vernaculars. Most often, and especially in printed materials, the frame or matrix language of the text is Latin and the embedded language is a vernacular (predominantly Swedish or German, or, in some cases some other minority vernaculars, such as French, Finnish, Dutch, or even Estonian).

Multilingual instructional and scientific texts produced within the *Academia Dorpatensis* were mostly printed texts (with some rather interesting exceptional manuscripts) and can be divided as follows: (1) academic occasional poems, (2)

student exercises in style (which are also the only examples of handwritten texts in the corpus material in this chapter), (3) dissertations, disputations and orations, and (4) a number of different textbooks (cf. above in sub-chapter 4.1.)

In the following sections (i.e. from 4.3.1. to 4.3.4.), the above given division of different multilingual texts will be briefly described. Case studies are not added to the end of the chapter, but, instead, they follow sub-chapter under which explicit case studies of the best (and most common) reflectors of multilingual practices are carried out, (e.g. under the following sub-chapter of academic occasional poetry 4.3.1., case study has been added as 4.3.1.4).

4.3.1. Academic occasional poetry

According to *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World. Micropaedia* the term “occasional poetry” is defined as follows:

/.../ “Occasional poetry” (*Gelegenheitsdichtung, poésie de circonstance, poesia occasionale, poesia ocasional*), also described as “casual poetry” (*Casualpoesie*) or “celebratory verse”, refers to poetry composed for a particular occasion, to which the articulation in verse lends greater significance and solemnity /.../. On these occasions the poems could be orally presented, but they could likewise be sent to the addressee or published in a collection /.../.

Those poems were written mostly due to some external impulses, such as weddings (*epithalamia*), births and birthdays (*genethliaca*), deaths and funerals (*epitaphia, epicedia, consolationes, tumuli*). The largest amount of occasional poems produced for academic purposes, on the other hand, were written for different kinds of (academic) occasions such as sending students off (*carmina propemptica*, also known as “valedictory poems”) published at the end of academic disputations, dissertations and orations or as separate imprints; promotions to *magister artium* or *licentiatu*s; a number of poems were dedicated to the Academy’s rectors for their inauguration, and many poems were known as *carmina gratulatoria* (gratulatory poems) written most often for the successful defending of academic dissertations, disputations and for holding orations. Basically “*all kinds of poetic forms were suitable for the treatment of such occasional topics, although “smaller” poetic forms were usually preferred*” (cf. De Smet 2014: 1144–1146).

In the present thesis under the wide definition of “poem” all the text-units written by the same author in which the main text is written as one without clearly distinguishable parts, is considered as one. This, of course, means that according to this definition a poem could consist of syntactically different poems (or parts of) that have been written by the same author following one another, and being thus visually as the same utterance.

For the linguistic performance of the occasional poetry it is important to mention that neither the handbooks of poetics from the perspective of the humanist authors (Julius Caesar Scaliger, Gerardus Johannes Vossius etc.) nor

the first disquisitions of vernacular poetry in poetics, e.g. Martin Opitz,¹³⁸ designated the possibility of creating multilingual poems at all, which, in turn, means that not only the choice of language used in a poem, but also the choice of mono- or multilingual performance depended mostly on the author as well as the addressee. One reason of this development can be the almost total absence of multilingual occasional poems in the Classical and post-Classical period and therefore, the authors of the early modern period simply lacked such examples.¹³⁹ Therefore, on the basis of the best-known exhaustive studies on poetics from the 16th and 17th century as well as the references used (see footnote 110), one can rather assume that using multilingual practices in occasional poetry was not a very common practice, and consequently the poems were written either exclusively in Latin or in a vernacular.¹⁴⁰

4.3.1.1. Quantity and linguistic division of occasional poetry from Dorpat

The heyday of producing academic occasional poems, especially on the Eastern shores of the Baltic sea region, but also in other parts of the Swedish Empire (cf. Helander 2004) was in the 17th century, which represents the period when a number of universities were founded (including the University of Dorpat in 1632), and thus the popularity of writing occasional poems as well as their dissemination were surely facilitated by the peregrination of students (cf. Kaur 2009: 11). In Tartu, under the phrase “academic occasional poetry” different

¹³⁸ See more about attested poetical theories in (1) J. C. Scaliger *Poetices libri septem* (1561); (2) G. J. Vossius *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (1647); (3) M. Opitz *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624).

¹³⁹ It must be mentioned here that not even James Noel Adams in his thorough disquisition about the relations between bilingualism and Latin language in late antiquity discusses either the use of poetry as a whole nor occasional poetry at all (see more in J. N. Adams *Bilingualism and Latin Language*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003). Yet, there are still some references to using two languages (Latin and Greek) in one Roman poem. Those are mainly macaronic poems in which *Latin or Greek roots can humorously be given terminations and inflexions in the other language* (cf. more in N. M. Kay 2001 *Ausonius. Epigrams*. Bristol Classical Press: Bristol, especially page 31). It is claimed there that Ausonius used a mixture of Latin and Greek in one of his poems, such as in epigram 82.5, as well as Quintilian's remark about Ovid's poem with language mixing in his *Institutio Oratoria* 8.6.33, for instance. See more about macaronic poems and their contemporary definitions in footnote 148 below.

¹⁴⁰ Here too there are some remarkable exceptions, of course. For instance, during the early modern period one of the most famous English poets – John Milton – used to write many of his occasional poems using Latin and a vernacular (i.e. English), either representing poems in parallel in both languages or in some parts, switching from English to Latin and vice versa (see more about the disquisition on this topic in (1) Estelle Haan's *Both English and Latin. Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Milton's Neo-Latin Writings*. American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia, 2012; (2) Victoria Moul 'Oxford Handbook Online'. *Neo-Latin Poetry 1500–1700: An English Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 7 Jun, 2016; pp. 7 especially).

kinds of gratulations (written at the end of disputations, dissertations and orations), farewell poems by students as well as professors, and poems dedicated to university rectors for their inauguration were written.¹⁴¹ During the period of the *Academia Dorpatensis*, approximately 1,035 poems for academic occasions were created by the students, professors and other scholars, and were addressed most often to a local student and/or scholar. Of all of those occasional poems approximately 73% (i.e. 760 poems) were produced during the AG and just about 27% (i.e. 275 poems) during the AGC period. Amongst all of the poems written during the AG period as many as 746 were written in Classical languages – 708 in Latin, 34 in Greek, two in Hebrew and two in Latin with some Greek interpolations. Four poems were written exclusively in a vernacular – in German.

Regardless of the fact that approximately 99% of all of the written occasional poems from the AG were monolingual, yet, nine poems were written neither in exclusively some Classical languages nor vernaculars, but in combinations of a Classical language (i.e. exclusively in Latin)¹⁴² and a vernacular instead – a practice which clearly shows a deviation from the common tradition

¹⁴¹ See more about occasional poetry, and especially the kind produced in the Early Modern University of Dorpat (*Academia Dorpatensis*) in J. Päll articles (esp. J. Päll, 2015. Uusklassikaline luuletraditsioon varauusaja Tallinnas ja Tartus. *Methis. Studia humaniora Estonica*, no 5, pp. 35–66).

The most compendious database about the occasional poetry from AG period has been collected, commented on and translated by K. Viiding and J. Orion as *Academia Gustaviana (1632–1656) ladinakeelse juhuluule tekstikorpust* (<https://www.ut.ee/klassik/neolatina/> [accessed 6 October 2017]), comprising more than 2,000 occasional poems written by students, professors as well as other persons in connections with AG. However, it has to be mentioned here, that despite the fact that the poems written for Academy's rectors for their inaugurations are mentioned here as a sub-group of occasional poems, they will not be discussed here, but in the following chapter 5, due to their representative function.

¹⁴² It must be mentioned here, that there is, in fact, not a single example amongst this chapter's data of switching neither from some vernaculars to Greek or Hebrew nor vice versa, and just a few examples of switching from Latin to Greek (or from Greek to Latin). This lack of Greek or Hebrew and vernacular combinations as well as vernacular to Greek or vernacular to Hebrew switches switches in the language practices clearly affirms that from the learned languages, only Latin was involved in the process of code-switching and language change in the practice of producing academic occasional poems in *Academia Dorpatensis* (in addition, for similar practices see more in chapters 4.3.4, 5.3.3.2. (under dissertations, personal letters, ceremonial and festive material (e.g. inaugural speeches, festivities' programs etc) which all comprise data in which code-switching takes place, but not between Greek/Hebrew and a vernacular, as one perhaps might expect).

It appears that even if in early modern Sweden there were some academic translations from Syriac to Hebrew and later into Latin, in which the translation was, on some occasions, multilingual comprising passages (and commentaries) from both Hebrew and Latin, at the beginning or end of this important imprint, there is not a single occasional poem written using Hebrew-Latin code-switching. See more about the lack of such practices e.g. in Josef Eskhult 2007. *Andreas Norrelius' Latin Translation of Johan Kemper's Hebrew Commentary on Matthew*; Uppsala: Uppsala University.

of writing solely monolingual poems as designated by poetics of that time.¹⁴³ Multilingual poems are written in the following language combinations: six poems are written in combinations of German and Latin (German being the frame language), one mixing Latin with German so that Latin is frame language, one mixing Swedish with some Latin interpolations (Swedish is the frame language), and the other mixing Latin with Swedish (Latin is the frame language). On the basis of the given data it is rather evident that multilingual practices were not (yet) a very common practice in the poetic tradition during the AG period, resulting in nearly a dozen poems written for academic occasions.

In order to have diachronic comparison material, the linguistic division of occasional poems written during the AGC period will also briefly be given. Out of 275 occasional poems as many as 238 are written in either one or in combinations of two Classical languages – 222 exclusively in Latin, nine in Greek, five in Hebrew, one mixing Greek with Latin and one mixing Hebrew with some Latin interpolations. Approximately 13% of all the occasional poems of the AGC period (i.e. 36 single poems) are, on the other hand, written in some vernacular, which according to the language they were written in can be divided as follows: 14 are written in German, 12 in Swedish, five in French, four in Estonian, one in Latvian.¹⁴⁴ This rather high proportion of vernacular poems from the AGC period can be considered an indicator of the greater openness towards languages other than Latin in the academy of this period (in comparison, the equivalent percentage in AG is extremely small with less than 1%).

From the AGC period there is just a single example of multilingual occasional poem – written in 1699 combining Latin frame with some Swedish interpolations.

Despite the fact that the majority of the academic occasional poems from the *Academia Dorpatensis* are monolingual, there are still 10 poems that reflect multilingual practices. In order to justify this minicorpus of multilingual poems being sufficient for the following statistical analysis, a student's t-test was performed again to show whether the average length of mono- and multilingual poems are substantially different or not. As the outcome was a 95% of confidence interval, it clearly confirms the assumption that those averages, in fact, differ to a large extent and thus, in turn, are comparable.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ See more about such-like deviations from well-known poetics, such as using Latin and a vernacular (High Old German) when writing poems in Belén Bistu's and Ann Rosalind's *Collaborative Translation and Multi-Version Texts in Early Modern Europe*. Routledge, 2013.

¹⁴⁴ As all of those 36 occasional poems are exclusively vernacular monolingual poems, it means that their paratexts (which are usually added either at the beginning as an opening clause or to the end as a closing clause) are also written in a vernacular and not in Latin, which actually seems to be a rather more common practice in this academic material.

¹⁴⁵ Student t-test was performed with two sets of data. In the first set the number of words and lines in monolingual poems was taken with a random selection, and in the other, all of the multilingual poems were taken with using the same parameters. The average number of words in monolingual poems is 102 divided between 16 lines on average, and the equivalents for the multilingual ones were 221 and 33, respectively.

4.3.1.2. Sub-genres, frequency, length and proportions of languages used in the multilingual poems

The multilingual practices occur in just two sub-genres of occasional poetry – propemptica and gratulations – written for students leaving university as well as praising fellow students for a successful dispute. Both sub-genres are represented on five occasions.

In order to have a more detailed comparative understanding of the the poems in terms of length (in words and lines) and the proportion of the use of vernaculars versus Latin, all 10 poems will briefly be analysed and compared to one another. In the first column of Table 2 below, the multilingual occasional poems are numbered from 1 to 10 and their author given (full name given in the first place) with the addition of the type of poem in abbreviated form (either gratulation – G, or propempticon – P).¹⁴⁶ In addition, the following information is given: “Date”; “No of words” – comprising the total number of words in the poem both vernacular and Latin; “No of lines” – the total number of lines in a poem; “Ver words” – the number of vernacular words (either German or Swedish); “LA words” – the number of Latin words; and “Proportion of ver” referring to the proportion of vernacular words in the poem. The vernaculars have not been explicitly distinguished from one another (i.e. German from Swedish) in the table but a common denominator “vernacular” is abbreviated (as “ver”) and used instead, under which the first eight poems contain German (numbers 1–8) and the final two use Swedish as a vernacular (9–10).

¹⁴⁶ Thus, according to the authors, the poems are marked chronologically as follows: (1) Three poems (1, 4, 5) refer to Petrus Langius a student from Heide, Germany, matriculated on May 30 in 1637 (cf. Tering 1984: 169, entry no 231); (2) Poem number 2 – Jacobus Lotichius a student from Riga, matriculated on August 16 in 1637 (cf. *Ibidem* 172, entry no 49); (3) Number 3 refers to Adrianus Verginius, a student from Wolin, Pomerania, matriculated in October 10 in 1637 (cf. *Ibidem* 175, entry no 263); (4) Number 6 to Johannes Schlechter a student from Riga who had matriculated already on January 18 in 1634 (cf. *Ibidem* 154, entry no 135); (5) Number 7 to Rudolph Strauch from Windau, Curland, matriculated on April 3 in 1638 (cf. *Ibidem* 178, entry no 277); (6) Number 8 to Hermann Schwemler from Cölleda, Germany, matriculated on October 10 in 1637 (cf. *Ibidem* 175, entry no 264); (7) Number 9 to Petrus Caroli Udenius from Udenäs, Sweden, matriculated on August 29 in 1637 (cf. *Ibidem* 172, entry no 250); (8) Number 10 to Abraham Carstenius from Viborg, Ingria, matriculated on August 9 in 1695 (cf. *Ibidem* 338, entry no 1356).

Table 2. Multilingual propemptica and gratulations in terms of Latin and vernacular words

Author	Date	No of words	No of lines	Ver words	LA words	Proportion of ver
1. Petrus Langius, P	12 January 1638	428	54	329	99	77%
2. Jacobus Lotichius, P	12 January 1638	363	66	249	114	69%
3. Adrianus Verginius, P	13 February 1638	207	30	39	168	19%
4. Petrus Langius, P	13 February 1638	237	32	163	75	69%
5. Petrus Langius, G	17 May 1638	182	22	130	52	71%
6. Johannes Schlechter, G	17 May 1638	183	22	139	44	76%
7. Rudolph Strauch, G	2 May 1639	83	20	48	35	58%
8. Hermann Schwemler, G	30 October 1639	232	44	155	77	67%
9. Petrus Caroli Udenius, P	23 May 1649	111	16	14	97	13%
10. Abraham Carstenius, G	11 September 1699	186	22	174	12	94%
Total		2212	328			
Average		221	33			61%

Looking at the dates shows that the majority of the multilingual academic poems were written in 1638 – four propemptica and two gratulations. Two poems – gratulatory poems – were written in 1639 both using combinations of German and Latin. Only a single propempticon containing Latin and Swedish was written in 1649, and one gratulation with Swedish and Latin in 1699. Therefore, the table can be considered bipartite both in terms of chronology (AG vs AGC) and linguistic performance or choice of vernacular (German or Swedish). Due to the fact that there is such a concentrated and constant production of multilingual poems in 1638–1639 and also huge gaps between the publication of the next multilingual academic occasional poems in *Academia Dorpatensis*, both the linguistic preference and chronological division of the multilingual poems (i.e. eight poems out of ten contain German, and just a single one is from the AGC period) might not be just a coincidence. This outcome rather demonstrates that (a) in 1638 and 1639 the interest for writing multilingual academic poems rose for a short period, and (b) it also might signify a movement from Latin-German multilingualism towards Latin-Swedish multilingualism at least based on the examples of occasional poetry in this sub-chapter.

The average length of multilingual occasional poems written at the *Academia Dorpatensis* is 33 lines and the average number of words is 221 (see Table 2 above). The equivalent numbers for monolingual occasional poems, on the other hand, are 16 lines and 102 words on average (see footnote 130 from above – student t-test). Therefore, despite the fact that the overall proportion of multilingual poems in the corpus of occasional poems is rather low (i.e. just about 1%), they also tend to comprise 48% more verses and are more than two times longer in word count than the rest of the poems, which in fact are monolingual. In addition, as the different parts of the multilingual poems are not translations from

other parts of the same poem, but separate distinctive divisions with new content, in terms of structure, they are already longer than monolingual poems.

From the table, the length of the multilingual occasional poems varies to a large extent – half of the poems (five) are rather long – between 207 and 428 words in length (poems 1–4, 8) – four are between 111 to 186 (poems 5, 6, 9, 10) and just a single poem is remarkably shorter being under 100 words in length (i.e. 83 words in all in poem 7). As the average proportion of vernaculars in multilingual occasional poems is 61% and the only poem in which the percentage of vernacular is almost equal with this average (with 58%) and thus represents a practice rather typical for the multilingual academic poems, it is going to be studied in more depth in one of the succeeding sub-chapters (cf. 4.3.1.5).

In two poems, however, the linguistic pattern is just the opposite – in poem 3 the proportion of German is just 19% and in poem 9 the equivalent for Swedish is even less at just 13%. In both of those poems the proportion of Latin is over 80% (81% and 87%, respectively). Poem 7, on the other hand, differs from the remaining poems by the fact that it is the only poem in which the proportion of vernacular and Latin is almost equal – the percentage of the vernacular (i.e. German) is 58% and Latin is thus 42%. In the only multilingual poem from the AGC period – poem 10 – the proportion of the vernacular (i.e. Swedish) is as high as 94% and Latin is just about 6%.

On the basis of those 10 occasional poems, we can see a clear correlation in their linguistic performance. It occurs that the poems in which Latin is used as the matrix language, tend to contain shorter passages in vernaculars, and, on the other hand, those in which vernaculars were used as matrix languages, tend more likely to contain longer passages of Latin interpolations. Yet, both types still appear to be rather conservative towards language changes and code-switching.

In addition, as all these poems were addressed either to a fellow student or a professor, it is likely that vernaculars were used, depending most often on the origin of the addressee. In fact, the authors of seven multilingual occasional poems out of 10 were of the same origin as their addressees (poems 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10). For instance, (1) Adrianus Verginius (poem 3) originated from Wolin, Pomerania, and the addressee of his poem – Bartholomaeus Hille – was also from Pomerania (Kolberg); (2) poem 5 written by Petrus Langius who was of German origin was addressed to Salomon Matthiae (also German); (3) Herman Schwemler (poem 8) addressed his poem to Heinrich Hein and both were also German; (4) the addressee of poem 2 written by Jacobus Lotichus from Riga was Georg Mancelius who was from Curland and thus from the same region; (5) poem 7 by Rudolph Strauch who was from Windau, Curland was addressed to a Livonian Christophorus Günterberch; (6) Petrus Caroli Undenius (poem 9) dedicated his poem to Andreas Arvidi and both were Swedes, and (7) Abraham Carstenius (poem 10) addressed his poem to Gabriel Hinnel and both were from Swedish province of Ingria. The first five students all used German as a vernacular, and the latter two Swedish instead. In fact, Jacobus Lotichus used Low German as a vernacular and not High German – a vernacular used by four of the other students. As the last two were both from the regions where Swedish was

spoken this practice might have reflected the cognizant language choice of the authors.

The origin of the authors of the remaining three poems (poems 1, 4, 6) and their addressees who were also of German origin, but unlike the other addressees of German vernacular written multilingual poems, on the other hand, were not born in Germany but German-speaking regions instead. For example, (8) the addressees of the two other poems written by Petrus Langius were from Kolberg (Pomerania), Bartholomaeus Hille (the addressee of poem 4) – and from Curland, Georg Mancelius (the addressee of poem 1); (9) poem 8 written by Johannes Schlechter from Riga was addressed to a German Salomon Matthiae. In all of those poems German was preferred as a vernacular.

As in 70% of the occasional poems the origin of the poem's author and addressee coincided and in 30% of the poems it did not, and as there were not any indicators in the poems for why either German or Swedish vernaculars were preferred (neither the country nor provinces in which the addressees were about to continue their careers or studies), the linguistic performance of those multilingual poems might as well just reflect the authors' personal linguistic preferences.

From Table 2, it is also evident that writing multilingual gratulations or propemptica was not a frequent practice among the most famous and productive poets from that time. For instance, Georg Stiernhielm, Laurentius Ludenius, Friedrich Menius (except for the multilingual entry in *alba amicorum* cf. ch. 6.3.3.2.), Joachim Rachelius and Olaus Hermelin did not write any multilingual occasional poems whatsoever. This can therefore be one further reason for the small amount of multilingual poems produced in *Academia Dorpatensis* during the 17th century.

4.3.1.3. Frequency and places of code-switches in the multilingual occasional poems

Despite the different proportions of languages, code-switching occurs at least once or occasionally twice in every multilingual poem – between the introductory part and the main text (or between different parts of the main text, when they were written in different codes) as well as between the main text and the paratext (i.e. closing remarks) in which the linguistic performance depends mostly on the language the main text ends in. As all multilingual occasional poems are printed, distinguishing between different parts of them as well as different languages and switches from one language to another is rather clear.

In terms of structure, the majority of the multilingual occasional poems (nine out of 10) are bipartite consisting of the main part of the poem and the paratext, which usually comprises the closing remarks (poems 2–10).¹⁴⁷ In six poems the

¹⁴⁷ Eventhough there are hardly any agreements about the nature of different poems' structure (despite their genre-border restrictions), they are usually considered either as bipartite or tripartite poems. Yet, the division can be merely visual, i.e. poem is divided

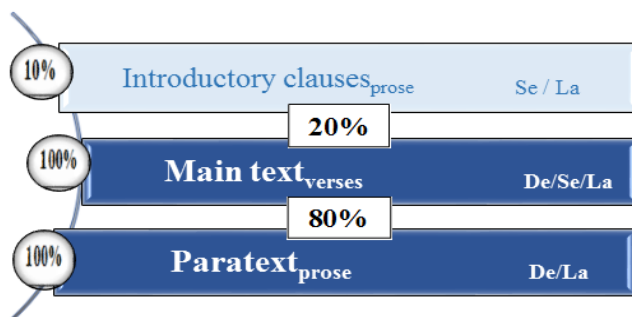
paratext part is written in Latin (poems 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10), on two occasions in German (poems 4, 6), and in one poem the paratext comprises only the name of the author without any additions (poem 8).

Within those poems in which the paratext is written in Latin, in three poems (3, 9, 10) no linguistic transition from the main text to the paratext occurs, due to the fact that both parts are written in Latin. Similarly, in two poems (4, 6), the paratext and the main text are written in German. Likewise, in three poems (2, 5, 7), the transition occurs between the vernacular main text and the Latin paratext – German-to-Latin. From here it occurs that in those poems comprising a Swedish vernacular (poems 9 and 10, respectively), the paratext is always written in Latin, when in German containing poems, on the other hand, occasionally German is used in those parts as well.

There is just a single poem – poem 1 – that is tripartite comprising besides the main part and closing remarks also an introductory clause, which is written in German as well as the main text. The closing paratext, on the other hand, follows the same pattern as the three other poems – a transition scheme of German-to-Latin. Such a distribution in this poem, in turn, means that in terms of structure it resembles the letters and academic documents (such as juridical, administrative and legislative documents), which prevalently consist of a tripartite structure, despite their different content as well as the practice of code-switching (cf. chapters 1, 2 and 6).

The above-given structure of multilingual occasional poems can be summarized with the following tripartite scheme (cf. Scheme 1) in which the first division represents introductory clauses written in prose, either in Swedish or Latin and its incidence is just 10% among the multilingual occasional poems. The Middle division stands for the main texts (content) written in metre and can either be written in German, Swedish or Latin, and the last one is for the closing paratext that in most cases is written in Latin or more seldom in German and in prose. On the left in the circles the incidence of each part in the poems is given. In between the large units there are smaller ones referring to the places of code-switches according to their frequency of incidence. The possible languages used in all of those parts are also added in abbreviated form (e.g. De – German, Se – Swedish, La – Latin), as well as type of the text – either it is written in metres or in prose.

into three visually distinguishable parts, such as title (introduction), picture (main text) and epigramm (as a closing part), or a poem consists of groups of three-line stanzas etc. In some occasions the introductory allocutions are merged with the main text so that those parts are visually indistinguishable, and thus those poems are considered as bipartite. In some cases the different divisions resp. parts might have separate sub-titles as well (cf. St Owen, 1977: 377; W. Beutin, K. Ehlert et al. 1989:108). Using sub-titles in different poems' parts seems to be a practice rather scarcely used in writing academic poems in *Academia Dorpatensis*.



Scheme 1. The tripartite model of multilingual occasional poems with the proportion of code-switching between different parts of the poem

Therefore, in multilingual academic occasional poems there are less switches compared to the most of the other academic text types, such as legislative and administrative documents, for instance.

4.3.1.4. Intersentential code-switching: the influence of the usage of metres and *decorum* of academic traditions to multilingual practices

In multilingual academic occasional poems, code-switching is exclusively intersentential, i.e. in every multilingual occasional poem switches from one language to another between different sentences occurred. As there is not a single occasion of intrasentential code-switching amongst this data, there are also no examples in which some words from different languages are inflected with one another – a practice also hardly ever used in legislative, administrative and festive texts (cf. chapters 1–2, 5). As the most popular places in those poems where code-switching actually takes place are transitions from the main text to the paratext, any occasions of intrasentential code-switching are excluded.

The complete absence of intrasentential code-switching is caused mainly by the fact that the various languages, in which the different parts of the poems are written (i.e. either vernaculars or Latin), follow different metric systems. In Swedish and German accentual-syllabic, and in Latin quantitative metres are commonly used. Despite the fact that some stanzas from Classical lyrics were borrowed into vernacular poetry, the majority of the stanzas used in German and Swedish poetry have no equivalent in the Latin poetic tradition whatsoever. Therefore, in order to compose a multilingual poem, the early modern poet could write either a macaronic poem,¹⁴⁸ or a poem in which Latin and verna-

¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless there is no universal agreement about the linguistic definition of macaronic poems, the most widely accepted one is also stated by Šimo Demo in one of his articles (2016) and is as follows: (1) a considerable part of the vocabulary is hybrid, in that it combines Latin endings with vernacular lexical morphemes, while the rest is in Latin, and

cular parts are written in different metres, and thus are clearly (visually) separated. As the humorous and sometimes even satirical undertone of macaronic poems did not suit many academic occasions, it is a rather logical outcome that different metrical schemes in different languages were not mixed at the intra-sentential level. Besides, in those multilingual occasional poems there is not a single instance in which the paratext parts are versified either. Despite the fact that the paratext parts of multilingual occasional poems written in prose (and not in different metres) that could enable occasions of code-switching, not a single instance of code-switching in those parts actually occurred.

4.3.1.5. Case study: insertions of non-formulaic text-units as the central multilingual practice in an occasional poem written by Rudolphus Strauch in 1639

The analysable multilingual gratulation (cf. poem 7; Illustration 6) was written in 1639 by the AG student Rudolphus Strauch, who was from Windau (Courland, nowadays Ventspils), at the end of fellow student Christophorus Güntherberch's (Günterberg) oration.¹⁴⁹ The length of the poem is 83 words that are divided between 20 lines, making it also the shortest of all of the multilingual academic occasional poems analysed above (in sub-chapter 4.3.1.1.). This, in turn, means that the analysed poem is 19% (i.e. 19 words) shorter than the average length of occasional poems written in *Academia Dorpatensis* which is approximately 102 words on average, and from the remaining of the multilingual poems it is about three times shorter on account of words.

In addition, as in the remaining of the multilingual poems there are approximately 7 words per line and in all of the occasional poems six words on average, then in this poem there are about four words on each line.

In terms of structure the poem is bipartite consisting of the main text part (20 lines) and an ending clause, which is divided between four lines consisting of

(2) the overall tone is frequently humorous or satirical, with parodical tendencies. See more about the tradition of writing macaronic poems and especially about its (correct) definition in **a)** Šimo Demo 2014. *Towards a Unified Definition of macaronics*. In: Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies, vol LXIII 2014. Leuven University Press: Leuven, pp. 83–106; **b)** Šimo Demo 2016 *Social context and extreme linguistic forms: The case of neo-Latin macaronics*. In: Metodologija i primjena lingvističkih istraživanja. 1.1.2016, pp. 49–61.

About the usage of macaronic poems written in Antiquity, see footnote 139 from above.

¹⁴⁹ Rudolphus Strauch was matriculated to AG on April 3rd 1638, and in the same year was granted with scholarship as well (cf. Tering, 1984, entry no. 277 on page 178). Christophorus Güntherberch (Günterberg) was matriculated to AG on July 13th 1637 (cf. *Ibidem*, entry no. 240 on page 171). The gratulation is written in the end of C. Günterberg's 1639 written oratio (*Historia monarchiae Persarum: quam, /.../ in Regia Academia Gustaviana, quae Dorpati est /.../ oratione solenni die 2. Maji, /.../ anno 1639 publice /.../ posteritati consecrabat Christophorus Günterbech, /.../ – Dorpati Liv., 1639: Typ. acad.*), photocopy of which is also kept in the MRBD (cf. Jaanson 2000: 213, entry no. 203; call marker: R. Acad. Dorp. 1639: 13).

the Latinized name and origin of the poem's author in addition to the closing remarks. There is no introductory clause – a practice rather common in multilingual occasional poems in the data in this chapter, as there is only one poem amongst them all that is tripartite with a distinguishable introductory clause (see poem 1). Here in this poem the author of the gratulation has not added any introductory allocutions and thus just starts from the main part of the poem.

*Doctè Persarum depingis Regna: Monarchas,
Fortunas pacis, bellaq, ritè refers;
Vt varios discas casus constanter obire,
Perge; tuis cœpiis annuat alma Trias!*

*Wem Frömmkeit gefelt /
Wer Tugend siets wehrt helt /
Wird nimmer trawren;
Er wird nicht leicht besleckt /
Von lastern angesteckt /
Steht wie die Mawren.
Weil ihr dieselbe Liebt /
Sie euch hinführo giebt /
Ruhm / Lob / begnügen.
Zahrt sohrt / vnd stelt ihr nach /
Der Himmel wird ewr sach
Nach willen fügen.*

*Hæc in gratiam Commenalis sui
svavissimi in Sveciam abitur-
entis deproperabat*

Rudolphus Strauch / VVindoviensis.



Illustration 6. A gratulation poem by Rudolphus Strauch from 1639 (R. Acad. Dorp. 1639: 13)

The gratulation, like most of the other multilingual occasional poems analysed here, is a mixing of Latin and German, so that the poem starts with Latin written in elegiac distichs and after a couple of lines switches to German, and in the end (i.e. paratext part) switches back to Latin.

The first four verses comprising of 22 words so that in every verse there are about five to six Latin words which can also be considered as the embedded

language (EL) of the poem. They are followed by 12 verses with 48 words so that in each and every verse there are four words of German text which also can be considered as the matrix language (ML) of the multilingual poem.

The German part of the poem is written in the metre of 12-line verse comprising four stanzas with three lines in each. The poem has been created using a scheme of popular six-line verses aabccb. The longer version of 12-lines with a scheme of aabccbdeffe (44 34 43 44 34 43) became popular during the 16th century due to a number of church songs (cf. Frank 1993: 447; 731–732). According to the schemes, the endings of two successive verses rhyme (**aabccb**), and the endings of every third line also rhymes (**aabccb**).

In the closing remarks, which are divided between four prose lines comprising 13 words, the author has switched back from German to Latin. Here in this poem there are therefore two separate occasions of switches – one between Latin and German within the main text part, and the other between the German main text and the Latin paratext part.

Although the function of the different parts of the poem (written either in Latin or German) as well as the aspect of their glorifications, respectively allocutions, is rather similar, in terms of content, the parts do not copy nor are word-for-word translations of one another. The beginning of the poem written in Latin in elegiac distichs is rather secular, without any end rhymes, and thus refers quite a lot to an academic gratulation. Yet, in the last line of the poem, the last three words can be considered a notional transition from a secular to a more ecclesiastical poem:

*/.../ Perge; tuis coeptis **annuat alma Trias!** /.../*

It is also the place in which the switch from Latin to German takes place (cf. Scheme 1 above).

The following German-written part of 12-lines refers quite a lot to a church song, calling for the addressee to be pious and humble, and thus follows the above-given practice of producing such poems.

The final part of the poem consisting of closing remarks is written in Latin prose and not in any metres – a practice used, in fact, in all of the multilingual academic occasional poems. Unlike to the other parts it is most informal and for the first time during this poem author turns to the addressee, although indirectly (i.e. not mentioning his name) referring the addressee to be the companion of the author (*commensalis sui*):

/.../ Haecce in gratiam Commensalis sui /.../

In spite of the fact that the parts of the poem written in different languages are also written in different metres, they, in fact, differ visually from printing types as well as fonts – in the Latin parts, antiqua is used in both cursive (for elegiac distichs) and upright (for the closing remarks), and in the German fracture is used. These are clear evidence of the visual pragmatics (cf. Machan 2011) used

within this analysed poem, which clearly helps to distinguish one language from another as well as different parts of the poems, which are distinctly separated. One reason for the latter could be the differences in quantitative *versus* accentual-syllabic metres between those used with Latin and those with vernaculars¹⁵⁰ that forbade the formation of any inflected forms in mixing two languages.

Regardless of the fact that in most of the academic texts produced within the *Academia Dorpatensis* code-switching is intrasentential occurring within a sentence, here in this poem as, in fact, in all of the multilingual gratulations and propemptica, the code-switching is intersentential.

In the present case study, two of the code-switching strategies given by Muysken (2000) – alternation and insertion – are applicable (cf. Introduction). When considering the whole text part without a paratext, the distinction between Latin and German is clear not only due to the usage of different codes or languages, but moreover by the fact that the metres differ to a large extent. Therefore, here the alternation strategy A–B is evident – a clear intersentential switching from Latin to German.

When taking into account the closing part of the poem (i.e. the paratext), in which there is another switch made from German to Latin, this can be considered an insertion (according to its schemes A–B–A given above). Therefore, the practice of linguistic performance applicable to this poem, refers to the poem's tripartite structure, at least on account of the intersentential code-switching on a scheme of Latin-German-Latin.

In the present case study, the third strategy when creating multilingual texts given by Muysken – congruent lexicalization – cannot be applicable due to the fact that the languages used are distinctively kept apart from one another, and all the instances of code-switching are intersentential, not intrasentential in which this strategy could have been viable (cf. *Ibidem* 229).

In addition, in the poem there is not a single example of linguistic or verbal indicators of code-switching, any quotations nor any formulaic expressions either, as the poem was not a translation, but written by the author himself.

As shown from the short case study, academic occasional poems, especially those which are multilingual, follow rather strict linguistic patterns – in every poem intersentential code-switching occurs, and not a single occasion of intrasentential code-switching, which, in turn, is common in most of the other genres and sub-genres of academic texts from the *Academia Dorpatensis*. For instance,

¹⁵⁰ For comparison, in early English texts and especially in poems in which Latin and vernacular were used together, there is not any evidence of different metres being mixed within a text not to mention using the same metres for Latin and vernacular poems (cf. M. C. Amadio, 2013. *The Anglo-Saxon Literature Handbook*. Wiley-Blackwell; especially pp. 137–146). The same issue is with the 16th century French poetry – as Latin poetry had the full range of ancient stanzas and quantitative metres, French poetry, on the other hand, had variables of line length and rhyme schemes, these might be the reason why different languages were not combined in the same verse. See more in Philipp Ford, 2013. *The Judgement of Palaemon: The Contest Between Neo-Latin and Vernacular Poetry in Renaissance France (Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts)*. Leiden: Brill.

as multilingual occasional poems follow a rather definite linguistic pattern in which the usage of different languages is very clear, there are also no examples where some words from a vernacular and Latin are inflected with one another as well, which again is an indicator of intrasentential code-switching. Such a practice, in turn, is an outcome of using different languages with different metres – either accented-syllabic, or quantitative. In addition, as the analysed poem is bipartite in terms of structure, the dominant strategy of code-switching in the multilingual occasional poems is alternation, which is varied with occasional usage of insertions as well.

4.3.2. Student style exercises (*progymnasmata*) and their sub-genres

According to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* the term *progymnasmata* refers to the preliminary exercises that made up the elementary stage of instruction in schools of rhetoric. From Ancient times the collection of Greek *progymnasmata* by Aelius Theon (1st century AD) is the earliest, and that of Aphthonius (400 AD) the most influential. A set of exercises attributed to Hermogenes was translated into Latin by Priscian; Libanius and Nicolaus of Myra were also important representatives of the practice (2012: 1216). The *progymnasmata* were initially assigned by Greek grammarians to students after they had learned to read and write as preparation for declamation and were continued in rhetorical schools as written exercises even after declamation had begun. Roman grammarians used similar exercises in Latin, preparing students for declamation as well as for the composition of a full oration. The exercises were completed in written form and often read out loud.

Genre continued to be developed in the Eastern Roman Empire during Byzantine times, and after the decline in the Western Roman Empire during the Middle Ages, came to be used again in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries in both schools and universities in Europe due to humanist programmes (cf. Kennedy 2003: 10; Van der Poel 2015: 120).

The term *progymnasmata* is actually a denominator for 14 different subtypes of preliminary rhetorical exercises comprising the following: fable, narration, *chreia* (anecdotal apophthegm), maxim, refutation, confirmation, commonplace, praise, blame, comparison, *ethopoeia*, description, proposition, and introduction of a law (cf. Kennedy 2003: 10). In addition, some of the original 14 *progymnasmata* were sometimes included in Latin style exercises that were more oriented towards the study of Latin. For instance, at the *Academia Dorpatensis* during its AGC period *chreia*, maxim, description, narration and *ethopoeia* were practised along with characterisation, translation and letter writing (cf. Päll 2012: 790).

During the *Academia Dorpatensis*, the only examples of student style exercises are extant from its second period, and, in fact, all but one were written during the first decade of the AGC (i.e. the majority in 1690s and a single one at

the beginning of the 1700s). Therefore, it is stated that most probably they were written between 1694 and 1698 and in 1707. In addition, it is assumed that the style exercises practiced during the AGC period were rather similar to the examples written in the Lyceum of Riga since 1675. At least it is quite clear that the ones produced at the *Academia Dorpatensis* include some of the same sub-genres as were prescribed for the Lyceum of Riga: rather short one to two page translation exercises (e.g. about the benefit of studies), descriptions, letters (incl. some petitions) and *chreiai* (cf. *Ibidem* 793–794).

Despite the fact that style exercises were written as a part of studies in rhetoric, not a single entry about producing *progymnasmata* during the AG period could be found either from the first Constitutions of the *Academia Dorpatensis* written in 1650 or the only extant lecture catalogue from this period (from 1653). In the Constitutions only the commonly used authorities in rhetorics are mentioned, such as Ramus and Thalaëus, while the catalogue, on the other hand, did not include any precepts nor mention of writing style exercises during the studium. Therefore, it is a rather logical outcome perhaps that there is not a single example of such exercises extant from the AG period to this day.

As a counterweight, the Constitutions of the AGC from 1689, do include an entry mentioning both writing and reciting *progymnasmata* during courses in rhetoric:

*/.../ juventuti dabit pro singulorum captu dispositiones Epistolarum, **progymnasmatum** et orationum, quas **scribant et recitent**, prius privatim praesente et dirigente pronunciationem Professore Eloquentiae, quoties opus fuerit, deinde publice idque ex memoria. /.../* (cf. Constitutions of 1689: 111, sub-item VI).

This, in turn, might as well be the reason why the student style exercises are extant only from the AGC period. However, no precept for the attested language for writing style exercises in the early modern University of Dorpat are given, and due to that one might assume the common linguistic practice in this genre only on the basis of the extant exercises the linguistic performance of which will be studied in more depth in sub-chapter 4.3.2.1. below.

4.3.2.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of style exercises

The total number of all of the extant style exercises from the AGC period is 39 manuscripts of one to five pages in length with the overall average of two pages per exercise, incorporating just approximately 2% of the overall text corpus of this chapter (i.e. out of 1,751 texts).¹⁵¹ The length of the examples varies from 43 to 570 words with an average of 137 words per exercise. Therefore, the total word count for all of the style exercises is 5,343 words.

¹⁵¹ Students written style exercises are kept in MRBD, Tartu, F.7–35, and titled as *Academia Gustaviana. Academia Gustavo-Carolina Arbeiten und Erklärungen von Studenten der Academia Gustavo-Carolina. In der Zeitspanne 1690 und 1710 51 Bl.*

In terms of structure, the style exercises were either bi- or tripartite. Twenty-one style exercises are bipartite consisting of the content part (with no distinct introductory part or title whatsoever) and closing remarks with just a name and occasionally the origin of the author. The remaining examples – 18 – are tripartite including an introductory part, which in several cases is just a title word, in addition to the content and closing parts.

According to J. Päll's division, all of the style exercises can be thematically and typologically divided as follows: (1) descriptions, such as *Character hominis ebriosi* or *Character ebriosi*; *Descriptio Urbis Dorpatensis* (5 exercises); (2) *chreiai* (just four out of 13 exercises contain the separate title word – *chria* – at the beginning); (3) translation exercises, entitled *Salve amicorum dilectissime* or *Amice Iucundissime*; *Salve amice perdilecte*; *Epistola Gratulatoria, de amici honore Magisterii, nuper recepti* (7 exercises); (4) letters, incl. petitions (14 exercises) (2017: 449–450).¹⁵² However, none of the tripartite style exercises comprises a longer introduction with allocutions to the rector or other scholars – a practice rather common in legislative texts as well as letters (cf. chapters 1 and 6).

From all of the style exercises, as many as 37 are monolingual written exclusively in Latin and just one in Greek. The only multilingual exercise which is also the only one written during the Pernau period of the AGC, was written in 1707 in German ML with some Latin interpolations. Due to the fact that this style exercise is the only multilingual example from this corpus, it will be studied in more depth in the following case study in sub-chapter 4.3.2.2.

4.3.2.2. Congruent lexicalization and formulaic linguistic performance in intrasentential code-switching: a case study of a style exercise from 1707 written by Adolphus Florianus Sigismundi and Franciscus Henricus Londicer

The multilingual style exercise analysed here is a petition (from the sub-division of letters) which is in fact written rather unconventionally – it is signed not by just one student which, according to all the other exercises, seemed to be a rather common practice, but for some reason by two students. The letter is signed by Adolphus Florianus Sigismundi and Franciscus Henricus Londicer (cf. Illustration 7). Both of them came from Reval (Tallinn) and were stipendiaries of the AGC – A. F. Sigismundi studied Theology and was granted a scholarship for 1707–1709, and F. H. Londicer studied in the Faculty of Philosophy and was granted for 1708–1709 (cf. Tering 1984: 387, entries 1650

¹⁵² For the latest distribution and analysis about the style exercises from the AGC, see the article written by Janika Päll in 2017. School Rhetoric In Early Modern Estonia and Livonia: Rhetorical Exercises from Dorpat (Tartu). In: Arne Jönsson, Gregor Vogt-Spira (eds). *The Classical Tradition in the Baltic Region. Perceptions and Adaptations of Greece and Rome*. Spudasmata Band 171. Georg Olms Verlag Hildesheim: Zürich, New York, pp. 427–484.

and 1651, respectively).¹⁵³ When comparing the handwriting of F. H. Londicer from some of his other extant letters, it seems that the handwriting in this petition does differ from his other writings – this petition is written in cursive, but Londicer’s other writings both in Latin and German are in upright style respect to handwriting. Therefore, the petition must be written by A. F. Sigismundi on behalf of two of them, which is also affirmed by the Latin abbreviation mp [*manu propria*] written after his name.

The main idea of their letter is first of all to request the protection of the university and that the inspector of the Academy would provide them with books and all the other subsidies needed to start their studies. In terms of tone, it is, in fact, quite similar to the student scholarship applications, except the main idea which is not to ask funding (or even a funding increase), but other subsidies, and the overall tone of the petition is not pitiful either (for the practice of scholarship applications see Chapter 6).

The average number of words per student style exercise was approximately 137, depending on many criteria, mostly on the student’s handwriting, style of the exercise as well as its type. This multilingual exercise, on the other hand, is shorter than the other monolingual exercises by 20%, consisting of 109 words in total within just a page (in comparison – the average number of pages for other examples was two).

In terms of structure, the style exercise is bipartite consisting of the main text part as well as closing remarks as a paratext. The content is divided between 14 lines so that in each line there is approximately nine words. Of the 109 words, there are, in fact, 15 words (i.e. 13%) written in Latin as the embedded language – 11 of them in the content part and four in the paratext.

¹⁵³ Adolfus Florianus Sigismundi (1687–1750) and Franciscus Henricus Londicer matriculated to the AGC on 5 March 1707. About Sigismundi it is known that his father was a professor in the Gymnasium of Reval, and he later on also worked there as a professor from 1718–1750. About Londicer, on the other hand, there is no information to be found. Tering claims in *Album Academicum* that most probably his father was the famous painter from Reval Ernst Wilhelm Londicer (1984: 387), but Franciscus Henricus’ (Franz Heinrich’s) placement in the famous Londicer family is unknown. And therefore it is rather hard to say whether Sigismundi and Londicer were connected to one another somehow other than being fellow students from Reval who immatriculated to the *Academia Dorpatensis* on the same day.



a) **allocutions to the rector, professors, and officials of the university**

The majority of the switches – 8 words out of 14 – are one to two-word long allocutions to the rector, professors and/or other officials of the university that are inserted into the German ML. For example, the in the content part in line 2 a allocation to the rector is used:

/.../ *der Herr **Rector Magnifice*** /.../.

Here due to the fact that the matrix language is German, the apposition *Herr* (Mister) has remained in German, and the allocation to the rector in Latin (Magnificent Rector). Similarly both of the allocutions to professors in lines 7 and 11 are also in Latin. The first of them (in line 7) follows the scheme of the above allocation to the rector:

/.../ *H[err]n **Theol[ogiae] Professorem*** /.../.

The other example in line 11, for example:

/.../ *der anderen H[er]r[en] **Professorum** Hilfe* /.../

This clearly seems to be influenced by the syntax of the matrix language. As the sentence *der anderen Herren* is the genitive attribute to the *Hilfe*, the following word in Latin (*Professorum*) is also put in genitive case in plural. All of those allocutions to academic officials are *quasi*-deifications in the academic world and can implicitly be considered in the “Christian-ritual function” of formulaic language, despite the fact that not a single proper God allocation as such was used (cf. Rutten & Van der Wal 2013: 52). This, in turn, in this context means that the individuals most referred to in the content part were most likely the intended readers and godlike assessors of the writing as well to whom the letter was addressed to.

Two times (in lines 3, 14) the same Latin word – *inspector* – is used in singular accusative case:

(1) /.../ *einen **Inspectorem** der unsere dirigiren* /.../;

(2) /.../ *zu unsren H[err]n **Inspectorem** benennen und erkennen* /.../.

As the German main verb *dirigiren* in example (1) requires accusative case in this position, the following noun in Latin also has to be in accusative. A similar practice is seen in the other example (2). Therefore, this example as well as the following two are evidence of congruent lexicalization in which matrix language and embedded language interpolations share a common grammatical structure that is filled with lexical items from either language (cf. Muysken 2000: 3).

b) other Latin terms from the academic sphere

The Latin noun *studium* is used in plural nominative case twice (in lines 3 and 9), being, in fact, again put under the grammar rules of German:

*/.../ der unsere **Studia** dirigiren, für unsere Wohlfahrt sorgen /.../.*

Interestingly here, the German equivalent for *studium* has not been used, but similar to different allocutions, congruent lexicalization is used for the code-switching.

In line 5, the plural form of ablative case from word *subsidium* is used referring to the subsidies the inspector of the university should provide the students with:

*/.../ und mit Büchern wie auch anderen nöthigen **subsidiis** /.../.*

Here, the Latin embedded language word *subsidiis* is put in plural ablative case due to the fact that it is lexically congruent to the German word *mit* */.../ anderen* in plural dative (in German language the instrumental function is expressed using the dative). Thus, German grammatical structure is used for both of them.

c) abbreviations and date

The only examples of code-switching in the paratext are four words written in Latin. Three of them, in fact, are abbreviations and both are supposed to be in ablative case – *a[nn]o* (in the year of) and *m[anu]p[ro]pria*, which is used as a formulaic expression usually referring to the authorship of a text. In this case, as it is written after the name of A.F. Sigismundi it indicates that he is also the author of the letter. The last Latin word used in the paratext is a marker for the month (*Junij*). All of them are rather common in academic letters and other writings containing formulae of address (incl. in the closing parts), and thus they can be considered as examples of incidence of text-constitutive functions of formulaic language (cf. *Ibidem*).

As shown on the basis of the student style exercises, it is clear that those examples are clearly on the side of monolingualism, and therefore those texts were predominantly written in Latin, with just two exceptions of Greek and German-Latin texts.

From the case study it occurred that the only multilingual example from the AGC was rather formulaic from style using mainly intrasentential code-switching both in the content part as well as in paratext with only some allocutions to the rector, professors and officials, as well as some terms, the date and authorship. Not a single occasion of quotes, Latin verbs, adverbs, inflectional endings nor any switches longer than two words were embedded in the German matrix whatsoever.

4.3.3. Textbooks

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the term “textbook” refers to a book used as a standard work for the study of a particular subject. In this study, however, the term “textbook” refers to the main function of the book as well as its content in the early modern context. For example, the primary function of the collections of poems by Classical authors with commentaries was not, at least in the academic context during the early modern period, to offer enjoyment to its readers, but were foremost considered as practical teaching materials that were adapted for holding either private or public lectures as were all the other textbooks. Scientific textbooks, for instance, were to offer readers models of correct comportment as well as practice. The practice involved professors reading the materials directly from the existing printed standard works by either Classical or contemporary authors, so that students could write these lectures down word by word.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth century the textbooks were composed either in Latin or in a vernacular, or sometimes even the vernacular translations of textbooks originally written in Latin (cf. more about the context of using textbooks in early modern Europe in Olesko 2003; Campi, De Angelis, Goeing, Grafton 2008: 11–36).

In the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* 13 textbooks – nine from the AG and four from the AGC period – were printed in the University’s print shop. Of those, in fact 10 were compiled and first published during the Academy, and just three elsewhere (see footnote 94 above in sub-chapter 4.1.). The books were used either for lectures with larger audiences or were specially published for private use instead. For instance, there was one textbook printed for holding private lectures – an edition of P. Hoffwenius’ *Synopsis physica*, the printing of which was initiated by professor of Medicine, Laurentius Braun in 1699 in the AGCD (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 236; Jaanson 2000: 52; footnote 129).¹⁵⁴

In terms of linguistic performance, the printed textbooks published during the AG or AGC were either mono- or multilingual. In fact there is no precept concerning their linguistic performance nor the frequency with which they were printed either in the Constitutions of 1650 or 1689. In the Constitutions as well as in lecture catalogues from both periods (i.e. AG and AGC), only the required authorities whose textbooks were to be taught by were mentioned. Medicine during the 17th century, for instance, was still taught following textbooks by Hippocrates and Galen (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 229), and not based on the works of, for example, Andreas Vesalius, proving that the theories of ancient Greek and Roman physicians were still central study materials during the early modern times. Therefore, the choice of producing and printing either new textbooks or new editions of existing ones was foremost the choice of the professors or

¹⁵⁴ The third edition of “*Synopsis physica*” that was initially written by Petrus Hoffwenius was reprinted in Pernau (Pernau) in 1699 by Laurentius Braun, professor of Medicine in the AGCP. According to Piirimäe (1982: 236) the reason this book was reprinted in Pernau was merely personal – L. Braun wanted foremost to use it in holding private lectures.

scholars depending most often on the general as well as personal practice used throughout the Academy.

4.3.3.1. The quantity, structure and linguistic performance of textbooks

The total number of extant textbooks printed during the *Academia Dorpatensis* is 13; all of them were printed during the Dorpat period of either the AG or AGC and not a single one during the Pernau period of the AGC (i.e. from 1699 onwards during the AGCP). From the corpus of all of the extant instructional and scientific academic texts (i.e. 1,751 text-units), these textbooks constitute just about 1%, so the total number of textbooks as a whole, when considering each book as a single text-unit, is rather small. However, despite this small percentage of the total number of textbooks, in terms of word count they exceed all the previously analysed texts in this chapter from sub-parts 4.2.1, 4.3.1 and 4.3.2.

The length as well as proportion of the textbooks differs within the books from 20 to 400 pages depending mostly on the subject the textbook was written on. Therefore, as the approximate average number of pages per textbook is 156 and words per page 159, the total number of words in mono- and multilingual textbooks as a whole is 322,456. This parameter, in fact, exceeds the equivalent for style exercises (i.e. total of 5,343 words) by over 60 times, and this even despite the fact that in terms of the number of text-units there are three times more style exercises than textbooks. Therefore, from the total number of words in all of the texts in this chapter's corpus (i.e. 2,556,808), the proportion of textbooks (by number of words) is approximately 13% (while for style exercises, for instance, it is 0.2%). Therefore, it is rather clear that the proportions of different sub-genres of instructional as well as scientific academic texts cannot be compared on the basis of the number of their text-units, but using many parameters, such as words and overall length as well.

In terms of their linguistic division, the textbooks can be considered mono-, bi- as well as trilingual, providing us with rather unique material for the linguistic study of multilingual practices. In fact, three textbooks out of the 13 (i.e. 23%) were monolingual – written exclusively in Latin. The majority of the textbooks – eight (i.e. 62%) – were, however, bilingual in which either Classical languages, such as Greek and Latin (on five occasions), Hebrew and Latin (one occasion), or German vernacular and Latin (on two occasions) were combined with one another. Two textbooks (i.e. 15%), can be considered trilingual – written either mixing Estonian, German and Latin or German, Swedish and Latin. Both of those books were for grammar studies – the first for studying the grammar of Estonian and the latter for German. Taking the entire corpus material of the present thesis, there are just a few examples of trilingual text-units, the two trilingual textbooks from this sub-chapter are the most voluminous of such writings and also had the highest density of code-switching.

In terms of their structure the textbooks differ depending mostly on their subject field.¹⁵⁵ Textbooks are usually at least bipartite, consisting of title page, notes or dedication from the author, introductory part with or without dedications – all which can be considered as paratext; the content part, which constitutes the largest part of the book included an analysis part. When textbooks are tripartite, they contain in addition to the mentioned parts either a short conclusion, index and/or vocabulary – parts that can also be considered a paratext.

In the following case study in sub-chapter 4.3.3.2, a trilingual textbook will be studied in more depth distinguishing between its linguistic performance, structure, and above all the characteristics of its code-switching.

4.3.3.2. Case study: intrasentential non-formulaic code-switching in Sueno Tiliander's grammar book from 1699

The following case study focuses on the trilingual printed textbook, which was first published in 1670 in Stade, Germany¹⁵⁶, and re-printed in 1691 in Dorpat in an adapted form, written by Sueno Ingemarsson Tiliander (1637–1710), and entitled *Compendiosa nuper adinventa Semita*. The latter version of the treatise from Dorpat will be taken as the basis for the analysis.¹⁵⁷

The book consists of 158 paginated pages, which makes it of average length in comparison to the other textbooks from the *Academia Dorpatensis*. In terms of structure the book is tripartite consisting of the following sub-parts: (1) title page (written in Latin and Swedish), which contains the title of the book with a short explanation about the possible readership and its content, place of printing as well as the name of the printer and date (year as well as place; illustrations 8 and 9); author's dedication as a foreword to the textbook (*dedicatio auctoris*) and a short introductory part; (2) content part consisting of the division of grammar, different rules, analysis; (3) a short conclusion (*beslut*) as well as a table of contents (*index titulorum*). The first and the third point in this partition

¹⁵⁵ About the thematic categorization as well as the division of textbooks under different faculties, see more above (4.2.1. under the caption “textbooks”).

¹⁵⁶ In fact, there is one version of *Compendiosa nuper adinventa Semita* attributed to S. Tiliander which is supposed to be printed already in 1650 in Stockholm (cf. http://www.digitale-bibliothek-mv.de/viewer/metadata/PPN779336658/22/LOG_0010/ [accessed 20 March 2017]). However, the dating of this book is extremely contradictory. More specifically, if it was written by S. Tiliander and printed already in 1650, it means that the author must have been only 13 years old. In addition, this version contains reference to books printed later than 1650, and was printed by Gotthard Volgenau who started his career as a publisher and bookseller as late as 1695. On the basis of this, the book printed in 1670 should be considered as the very first edition (see more in an article written in 2016 by T. Fonsén entitled as *Sven Ingemarsson Tiliander (1637–1710)*, in *Studia Neophilologica* vol. LXXXVIII, no 1, pp. 70–96).

¹⁵⁷ The digitized version of Dorpat's edition from 1691 can be found here: https://www.ester.ee/search~S1*est?/Xtiliander+&searchscope=1&SORT=DZ/Xtiliander+&searchscope=1&SORT=DZ&extended=0&SUBKEY=tiliander+/1%2C3%2C3%2CB/frameset&FF=Xtiliander+&searchscope=1&SORT=DZ&2%2C2%2C [accessed 20 March 2017].

can also be considered as paratext consisting above all the extra information needed for better understanding the textbook. In terms of the proportion of the parts of the textbook, the introductory parts constitute 14 pages which is app. 9% of the whole, and the final parts just 4 pages or 3%.

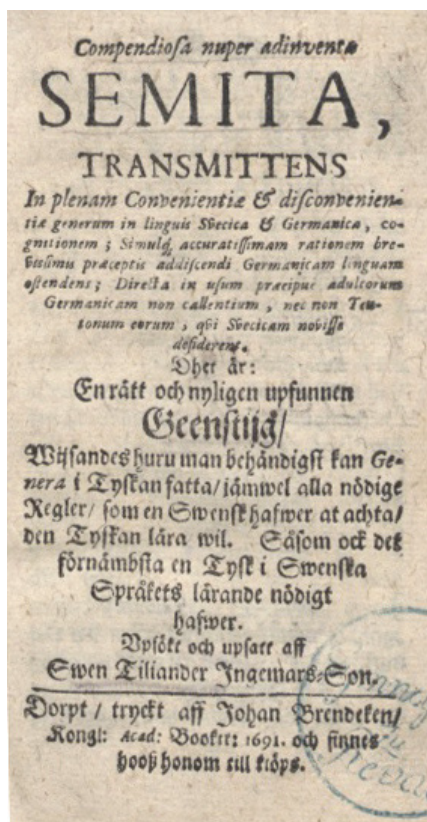


Illustration 8. The title page of Sueno Tiliander's grammar book from 1699 (MRBD, R Est-A-5067).

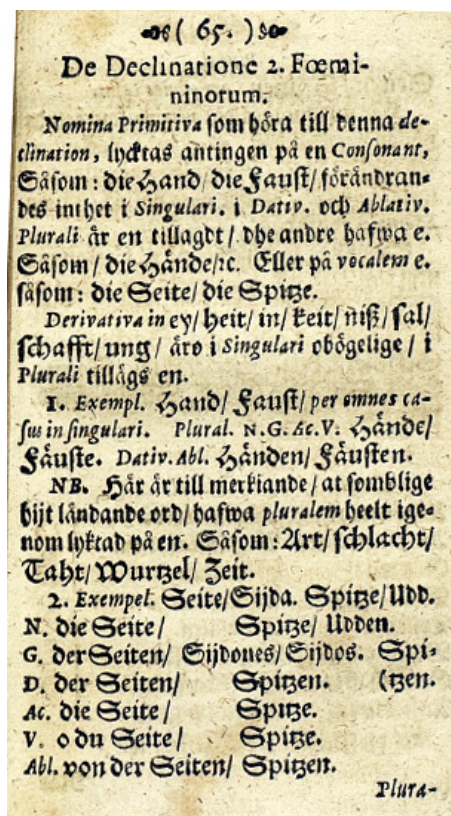


Illustration 9. An exemplary page (p. 65) of the content in the grammar book (MRBD, R Est-A-5067).

The book is foremost intended for local Swedish students to study German grammar via both Swedish as well as Latin. On the title page S. Tiliander claims using this textbook, in fact, to be the shortest as well as the easiest way to study German. Necessary vocabulary as well as a number of examples are presented mostly in parallel in both Swedish and German, and explanations, grammar rules as well as sub-titles of the different parts of the book in Latin. In addition, all the abbreviations as well as full names of cases, genders, terminology, references (in abbreviated form), and names of different tenses are also written in Latin.

In order to determine which of those three languages (Swedish, German, Latin) is the matrix language and which the embedded language, one page is chosen randomly from each main section of the textbook given in the table of contents (I to X), as well as the title page, the beginning of the introduction, the conclusion and table of contents itself, for a word count in order to see the exact proportions of the sections as well as the occurrence of code-switching. This data is added as a table (Table 3) in which rows are numerated from 1 to 14. The Roman numerals (in lines 3 to 12) refer to different sub-sections of the textbook, “no of words per page” to all the words within a page. “Sections and pages” refer to different sections and pages to the overall length of the section on account of pages. “De”, “Se” and “La” stand for the exact number of words in German, Swedish and Latin on a page, and “Proportion of ver” for the overall proportion of vernaculars (Swedish and German put together) from all of the words per pages. Numbers 1 and 2 refer to the introductory part and 13 and 14 to the conclusion and table of contents, and are considered as paratexts. The sections from the main text are numbered from 3–12. In terms of proportion, vernaculars are counted as one so as to distinguish the matrix language, and the embedded languages are also considered together.

As the average amount of words per page in the textbooks from the *Academia Dorpatensis* is 159, the average number of words per page in S. Tiliander’s grammar book is, however, 98 which is 62% less than in the other books. Such a difference in the capacity of words per pages can be explained by the fact that the treatise analysed here is a grammar book in which, unlike the other textbooks, the words are often presented in different rows and not always even full sentences are formed.

From the linguistic performance of different parts of the textbook, it occurs that both of the paratext parts (1–2 and 13–14) contain either Swedish and Latin or exclusively Latin as in the *Index titulorum* (14), which appears to be the most conservative part in regard to language change. The preference for Latin in this part could be explained by the fact that all the titles of the sub-sections within the textbook are also written exclusively in Latin and thus the same analogy is used while creating the table of contents. As not a single word of German is used in either of the paratext sections, this is a clear indicator of the target readership – local Swedish students studying German.

The conclusion part (13) as well as the author’s dedication (2) are both written almost entirely in Swedish with vernacular frequency as high as 98%. In both occasions only three words in Latin are used within the text. Those sections, in turn, are also two of the longest in terms of word count – dedications consist of 158 and conclusion 154 words, exceeding the average number of words per page in this textbook by 62% and 64%, respectively.

Table 3. The proportions of different parts of S. Tiliander’s textbook according to words and pages

Sections and pages	No of words	La	Se	De	Proportion of ver
1. Title page (1)	103	42	61	0	59%
2. <i>Dedicatio authoris</i> (10)	158	3	155	0	98%
3. I – Prologium (12)	83	39	19	25	53%
4. II – De Articulis (2)	98	35	21	42	64%
5. III – De Generibus n. (47)	110	25	49	36	77%
6. IV – De Numeris (0.3)	36	8	15	13	78%
7. V – De Casibus (0.3)	39	7	32	0	82%
8. VI – De Declinat. (13)	102	25	25	52	75%
9. VII – De Numeralibus (1)	69	30	7	32	57%
10. VIII – De Pronomine (3)	89	31	29	29	65%
11. IX – De Verbo (54)	114	14	55	45	88%
12. X – Quae de Synt. (9)	145	19	126	0	87%
13. <i>Beslut</i> (2)	154	3	151	0	98%
14. <i>Index titulorum</i> (2)	78	78	0	0	0%

The title page, on which vernaculars and Latin are used almost equally with a vernacular proportion of 59%, however, differs from all the other sections by type of code-switching. In fact, it consists of three distinct parts so that the first one is written exclusively in Latin, the middle and the last part both in Swedish with just one word in Latin as an interpolation. Therefore, the code-switching occurring between the first and middle segment is intersentential switching from Latin to Swedish. As the code-switching is intersentential between the two passages, congruent lexicalization does not appear.

Within the other segments on the title page, there is no examples of code-switching between the middle and the last section which are both written in Swedish, but code-switching occurs within the last section instead, with Swedish as the matrix language and Latin as the embedded language. The only example of code-switching in which a Latin interpolation is used refers to the Academy in an abbreviated form of a genitive case expressing the possession of something (here – showing the relation between the printer and the Academy) – *Acad[emiae]*. The Latin word “*Acad[emiae]*” is syntactically congruent with the word in Swedish expressing “[the book printer of] the Royal [Academy]” – *Kongl[ige]* – and can thus be considered as congruent lexicalization in intra-sentential code-switching.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ The title pages of the majority of the other textbooks published during the *Academia Dorpatensis* were, in fact, exclusively monolingual, written either in Latin (in 10 books) or German (in one). However, the only examples of title pages that contain multilingual prac-

However, in all the other sections of the multilingual grammar book the code-switching is also intrasentential between Latin, Swedish and German, with examples of using either congruent lexicalization, insertions or alternations.

Despite the fact that the linguistic performance and amount of vernaculars and Latin differs between the sections, parts written in different codes are always also visually distinguishable. In particular, sections using German and Swedish are printed in upright fracture font, while Latin uses either cursive or upright type. As words in Latin are easy to differentiate, the Swedish and German, however, are printed in the same type, and as the languages are rather similar, it is hard to visually distinguish between them. In fact, there are no explicit references to either the location of switches nor the used vernacular languages. Therefore, in order to determine which languages were used as embedded and which as matrix, vernaculars are considered an important figure and are counted as one according to their proportion as well as incidence within the text. Consequently, as the proportion of vernaculars exceeds Latin (from 53% to 88%, with the average being 72.6%) in all of the sections 3–12, vernaculars (Swedish and German) are considered the matrix languages and Latin the embedded language throughout the content part of the grammar book. In all of those parts except for sections 7 and 12 two vernaculars are used. In four of them (3, 4, 8, 9), the proportion of German is higher than Swedish, and in all except section 3, the usage of German exceeds that of Latin as well. The proportion of vernaculars is the highest in section 11, in which Latin explanations are hardly used. The usage of vernaculars in this part is almost equal perhaps due to the fact that the words described in this section were presented in parallel.

When analysing how the switches within the content parts exactly take place, it seems that both the alternation strategy on a scheme of A–B as well as insertion on a scheme of A–B–A is used (cf. Muysken 2000). All of those switches are also intrasentential, and, in fact, almost every example starts either with Latin or Swedish or a mixing of Latin and Swedish and afterwards, i.e. after the explanations, switches to German in order to exemplify. For instance, in the section on verbs such examples of the respective practices of code-switching are rather common:

*/.../ NB! **Sombliga** Verba **conjugeras både** regulariter **och** irregulariter, **doch merkandes** Regularem conjugationem **wara riktigst och brukeligst. Såsom: Ich schmeckte und schmackte/jag smakade. /.../***

In this example, in both sentences the scheme A–B–A is used. The first sentence starts with Latin (abbreviation NB!), then switches to Swedish, Latin, back to Swedish again etc. In addition, congruent lexicalization is apparent, for ins-

tices, belong to the trilingual textbooks – the Tiliander's grammar book analysed here as well as Gutsclaff's book about Estonian grammar. The title page of Gutsclaff's book starts with allocution to God in Greek, then switches to Latin (which is also the matrix language) with an insertion of a German word.

tance, in the beginning of the first sentence: the Swedish word *sombliga* (some) and Latin *verba* which is the plural nominative case of “word”, are syntactically congruent as the word “some” needs the following noun to be in plural form.

The following part is also syntactically congruent:

/.../ *både regulariter och irregulariter* /.../.

The second sentence follows the same scheme, but the switches take place between Swedish and German (Swedish–German–Swedish) instead.

On some examples, however, the whole introductory phrase is given in Latin and just a conjunction is used in a vernacular:

/.../ *De Articulis, Definito och Indefinito*. /.../.

This is again a good example of using the scheme A–B–A, and within this single sentence a vernacular (Swedish) appears to be the embedded language instead of the more general practice of this textbook.

The following example shows an alternation on an A–B scheme between the Swedish matrix and Latin embedding:

/.../ *Doch befinnes med ändan en lijka gällande ändelse med* *Articulo definito*.
/.../.

The code-switching is intrasentential and again congruent lexicalization is evident. As the Swedish preposition *med* (with, together with) is used, the following alternation to Latin is put to ablative case according to Latin grammar. As the equivalent for Swedish *med* is *cum* in Latin, which requires ablative case, here in this example ablative case is also used.

When comparing the total number of all of the occasions of alternations and insertions within the content part of the textbook (i.e. within 141.6 pages) it occurs that insertion is used 605 and alternation 401 times. All in all, these types of CSs are used 1,006 times. The majority of the switches are insertions with 60.1%, and thus alternations are 39.9% of the switches. The average frequency of the use of all of the alternations and insertions per page is rather high – approximately seven. Insertions are, in turn, used 4.3 times (and thus 65% more often) per page while alternations 2.8 times on average. When analysing all ten content parts in terms of the occurrence of alternations and insertions, it seems that the highest frequency of insertions is in section seven (number 9 in the table above) with eight switches per page. The equivalent for alternations in this section is four switches. The highest frequency of alternations occur, however, in section three (number 5 in the table) with 5.3 switches on average. The lowest frequency of insertions occurs in section two (number 4) with 0.16, and for alternations in section nine (number 11) with just 0.8.

It appears that alternations tend to occur in the textbook parts which are more prose-like comprising longer explanations in which whole sentences are formed.

As seen from the study of this trilingual textbook, the density of code-switching is rather high in the content part. In fact, this textbook is an example of the highest density of code-switching within the whole corpus material of this thesis. In paratexts, however, mainly vernaculars are used with just a few exceptions involving Latin interpolations. In addition, vernaculars appear to be the matrix languages and Latin the embedded language in most cases, especially when comparing the overall proportions of vernaculars with Latin. The majority of the switches are intrasentential with congruent lexicalization, intersentential code-switching occurs only in the paratext (i.e. on the title page). Formulaic linguistic performance does not appear to be of preference in this grammar book either, perhaps due to the fact that mostly grammar-related rather than specific terminology is used.

4.3.4. Academic disputations, dissertations and orations

Academic dissertations, disputations and orations were considered the second most important form of instruction (next to holding lectures) at the *Academia Dorpatensis*. In fact, according to the Academy's constitutions, holding a dispute over a dissertation or disputation was considered even a compulsory means of instruction (cf. *Constitutiones* 1650; *Constitutiones* 1689; Jaanson 2000: 43).¹⁵⁹ In the seventeenth century the term *disputatio* referred either to an oral presentation or to a printed text. In a pedagogical context (i.e. in universities) the term referred to a debate or a discussion that was tentative and thus suitable as a form of argumentative exercise (cf. Van Miert 2009: 149–150). Depending on the objectives and type of the disputations, the distinction between public and private disputes was made. The vast majority of all disputations are considered public disputations held and written for different cases, most frequently as disputation exercises to practice writing them as well as disputing the written topic; such disputations were called *disputationes exercitii gratia* or *exercitii causa*. More scientific disputations (*disputationes pro gradu*) were also written, mostly in order to apply for academic degrees – either for a master's degree, *licentiatus* or for a doctor's degree (cf. Piirimäe 1982:100; Jaanson 2000:42–43; Stanglin 2010: 12–13; Gindhart, Marti, Seidel 2016: 7–10). In the present thesis, however, only the written form of disputations is going to be analysed, and thus the term (i.e. either disputation or dissertation) refers from here onwards to the printed texts.

In every dispute there was a person, usually a professor, who presided over the disputation and was referred to as *praeses* on the title page of the dispu-

¹⁵⁹ For the use of terms *disputatio* (disputation) and *dissertatio* (dissertation) in this thesis see more in footnote 114 above.

tation. In addition, a disputant who was called *respondens* and also might have been the author of the text, was also added there. If the *respondens* was also the author, he was often referred to as *auctor et respondens* (cf. Jaanson 2000: 43).¹⁶⁰

However, the question that remains rather polemic is concerned with the real authorship of disputation texts, especially when taking into account the idea given by Swedish scholars Emin Tengström and Margareta Benner (1977) who have studied some 17th century academic disputations and dissertations from Sweden. They rather tend to believe that the authors of those texts were most likely the presiding professors. They also illustrate their assertion with an example from the 18th century University of Lund, where it was rather common practice that professors wrote the drafts of disputations and in many cases students rewrote and presented those texts as their own writings (cf. Benner, Tengström 1977: 15–16). Jaanson seems to agree with this opinion claiming that the texts might in most cases be written by the presiding professors and not the students who were occasionally referred to as the author of the text on the title pages of disputations and dissertations (2000: 166). Therefore, one might assume that especially in the case of those disputations and dissertations in which a larger number of different segments from contemporary authors' treatises were used and which were thus more profound, might as well have been written by the (presiding) professors.¹⁶¹

In addition to academic dissertations and disputations, a number of academic thematic orations were also held, written and printed as a part of the educational process in the *Academia Dorpatensis*. Orations can be divided into two major groups – (1) thematic examination-like orations with longer abstracts or historico-geographical disquisitions, and (2) orations written for festive occasions (cf. *Ibidem* 2000: 47).¹⁶² Here too, the question of the authorship of the orations remains rather uncertain – they might have been written either by professors or students. In many cases, orations as well as disputations and dissertations are provided with a foreword from the professor of Poetics and Eloquence who just as well might have been the author himself. In addition, as

¹⁶⁰ Inno and Piirimäe seem to be in favor for this idea that disputations were still written by the *respondens*, claiming that disputing among other things reflected the disputant's academic as well as scientific preparation (cf. Inno 1972: 73 and Piirimäe 1982: 99, respectively). Unfortunately not a single example of dissertations' nor disputations' drafts are extant to this day, due to which it is impossible to identify the real authors of the texts either.

¹⁶¹ The Academy's library comprised within its first years just a few books, due which during 1632–1647 (before the bigger book donations), professors had to use their own books and/or libraries instead. The same situation was during the AGC period when the University library was packed for years in a threat of war and only the personal libraries could have been used. Thus, it is rather logical outcome that the disputations and dissertations with many quotes from other books could be written by the professors (cf. more in Vasar 1932; Piirimäe 1982; Krēsliņš 2010; Viiding 2017: 464–486, esp. on page 471).

¹⁶² Texts from the first group of orations will be discussed in this sub-chapter along with dissertations and disputations, and the latter ones (i.e. festive orations) in the following chapter (i.e. Chapter V).

many disputations, dissertations as well as orations contain similar or even the same parts of texts (such as quotations, intertexts, examples etc.) as some other writings by the same professors, it may be considered evidence of these being written by either the same author or at least under his supervision so that the same basic materials have been used (cf. Viiding 2017: 479).

4.3.4.1. The quantity, length, structure and linguistic division of disputations, dissertations and orations

The overall corpus of academic dissertations, disputations and orations includes 648 imprints – 550 from the AG and 98 from the AGC period. Of those texts there are 393 dissertations and disputations and 157 orations from the AG period and 91 and seven from AGC period respectively. The quantity in resp. to the amount of academic dissertations, disputations as well as orations constitute as much as 37% (i.e. more than a third) of the corpus of instructional and scientific texts, and about 8% of the whole corpus (i.e. from 7,831 text-units) of the present thesis based on single text-units.

The average length of those writings in pages varies according to both period and text type (i.e. AG vs AGC as well as dissertations and disputations vs orations).¹⁶³ The average length of the AG imprints is 17 pages, while in the AGC the equivalent number is more than twice as many being 39, which means that even though there were considerably less imprints during the AGC (more than four times less in comparison to the AG period), those texts tend to be more than two times longer in terms of average length. According to the Academy's Constitutions of 1650 and 1689, the disputing period was almost the same – an hour for presenting the thesis by the disputant and two to four hours for discussions. In fact, during the AG period in the summer-time the disputes started at 6am, and in winter at 7am and lasted until 11am; therefore, a maximum of four or five hours. During the AGC period, however, the disputes started a few hours later, at 8am, and lasted until 12 midday, and thus maximally about four hours (cf. *Constitutiones* 1650: 48–49; *Constitutiones* 1689: 95). As there are also no comments on their fixed average nor obligatory length in terms of the content, it is rather hard to say whether they were more superficial during the AG period or not on account of the differences in their lengths. The only difference between the dissertations, disputations and orations from the AG and AGC was the fact that they were slightly more strictly regulated during the latter period.

The equivalent numbers in orations are 21 and 20 pages, respectively, which, unlike the dissertations and disputations, which differ more in terms of average length, shows rather more similarity in terms of length within the sub-corpus of orations.

¹⁶³ In this chapter the enumeration of pages is also used besides words and text-units. The reason for this counting is the fact that academic dissertations, disputations, orations are normally longer texts from 15–16 pages in length onwards, and this count makes the data more comprehensible. However, the count of words is still given on account of words per pages.

In terms of structure, the academic dissertations, disputations and orations are all rather similar and can be considered as tripartite on a scheme of paratext–content–paratext. The first paratext comprises the title page in which the exact title of the writing, venue, time, toponym, printer and institution under which it was printed (here it is either AG or AGC) as well as names and titles of *respondens* and *praeses* are given. In some texts at the top of the title page an allocation to God is also added written either in Hebrew, Greek or Latin. On the verso side of the title page there is usually a dedication (*dedicatio*) to all the contributors of the disputation; and sometimes this part is also followed by the author's foreword.

The content of the text depends mostly on its purpose and thus usually comprises the analysis part. The definition of the problem is given with formal reasoning complemented by a number of examples (with or without references). It seems to follow the scholastic *quaestio* structure in which arguments both for and against, each provided with a syllogistic proof as well as reasoned arguments are given. These analysis parts in writings in the AG and AGC are usually distinctly titled in a separate line as *thesis* with a number, paragraph and a number, *textus* and a number, or without distinction starting just with the number of the passage from the same line where the text begins.

The final paratext comprises in many cases a *corollaria* part concerning the standard issues in the subject, which is usually presented as the co-students' tenets of a philosophical conviction on the discussed topic.¹⁶⁴ Usually this part is written in a question-answer form and its length can vary from one-two questions up to ten or occasionally even more questions depending mostly on the topic.¹⁶⁵

Corollaria is usually followed by a number of occasional laudatory poems printed to the very end of the academic text by both professors as well as co-students in order to praise the author of either the disputation, dissertation or oration (cf. Van Miert 2009: 6, 151–152).

Regardless the fact that neither the constitution of the AG nor AGC designated clearly the language for disputing, dissertations, disputations and orations were still considered the most important source for studying and practising Latin (cf. Lepajõe 1994: 98). Yet, when concentrating on the linguistic performance of academic dissertations, disputations and orations, the overall proportions differ to a rather large extent.

Of all of the imprints of the AG period (i.e. 550 imprints), as many as 74, reflect multilingual practices which constitute approximately 13% of all the text-units from this period. Regardless of the fact that from the AGC period the equi-

¹⁶⁴ *Corollaria* was a part of disputations and dissertations that usually followed to the disputation's content part in which previously claimed ideas could be recapitulated.

¹⁶⁵ Instead of using *corollaria* part, on a single occasion in one of the multilingual disputations from the AGC period (cf. Pastelberg 1697), an additional part entitled as *antithesis* is used. In this, three opposite and even controversial concepts presented in the main part of thesis are expressed in a short and summarized way, but without author's assessment about which of them is the correct one. Therefore, the term *antithesis* used in academic dissertations and disputations as a synonym of *corollaria*, differs from the common meaning of the term *antithesis* in the field of rhetoric and literature.

valent number of texts is more than five times smaller (i.e. 98 text-units), in as many as 46 imprints, multilingual practices occur, which, in turn, constitutes almost 47% of the dissertations, disputations and orations in the Academy's second period.¹⁶⁶

When dividing all of the text-units containing multilingual practices between decades from the AG and AGC period (i.e. 1630s, 1640s, 1650s from the AG, and 1690s and 1700s from the AGC period, the same division given before in section 4.1.) taking into account the total number of imprints from every decade, the results are presented in Figure 1 showing the overall proportion of texts containing multilingual practices.

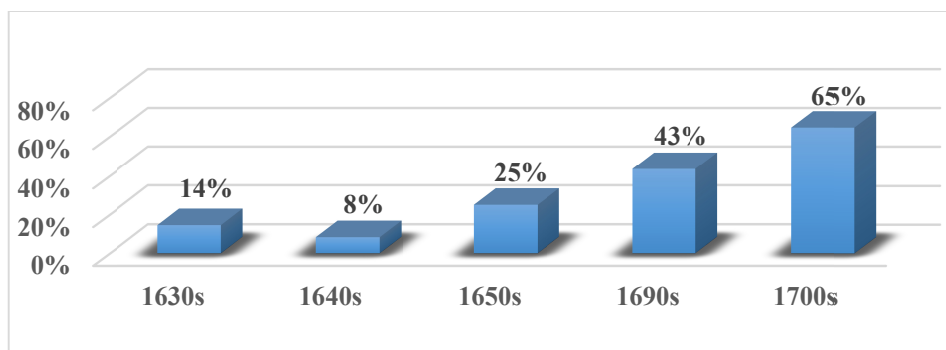


Figure 1. Proportion of multilingual text-units from the total number of academic dissertations, disputations and orations by decade

The figure shows a sudden decline in producing multilingual academic dissertations, disputations and orations from the 1630s to the 1640s, by almost two times from 14% to 8%. From the 1650s onwards, however, there is a clear growing tendency of multilingual texts in the *Academia Dorpatensis*, increasing towards the AGC period. The latter tendency, in turn, is a rather logical outcome when taking into account the fact that basically every second disputation, dissertation or oration from the AGC contains at least some examples of multilingual practices. The equivalent indicator for the AG period is seven, being thus clearly more infrequent than during the AGC period.

Before giving exhaustive examples of this section's multilingual material, some of the general important characteristics of the data have to be explicated in more detail.

¹⁶⁶ As there are not distinct differences in the usage in respect to the occurrence of multilingual practices between the academic dissertations, disputations and orations, they will all be considered as one under the following parts of the analysis.

4.3.4.2. The frequency and length of segments containing multilingual practices in disputations, dissertations and orations

From among all the 74 imprints from the AG period that comprised multilingual practices, as many as 252 vernacular-written excerpts can be distinguished within the Latin matrix. Therefore, in almost every text-unit there were three vernacular segments on average, which is quite a lot for such a linguistically conservative genre as academic dissertations was considered to be. In as many as 67 imprints, multilingual practices occurred in the main text. In seven imprints, rather unconventionally, vernacular interpolations were found in paratexts – in eight cases in the *corollaria* part at the end of the writings and twice on the title page.

Within the 46 multilingual text-units of the AGC period as many as 140 vernacular excerpts were distinguished, which, in turn, means that here too in every imprint there were supposed to be at least three vernacular segments. In almost 86% of the imprints (120 cases), vernacular segments occur in the main text, which means that in 20 cases vernacular interpolations are found in the paratexts (i.e. from the *corollaria*).

The following figure (Figure 2) provides an overview of how the vernacular text segments were divided in academic imprints according to their absolute values. The number given at the top of the column shows the number of imprints that contain vernacular segments, and the enumeration of excerpts (e.g. 1, 2, 3... segments) shows the distinct amount of segments per imprint in both the academic production of the AG (blue column) and the AGC period (red column).

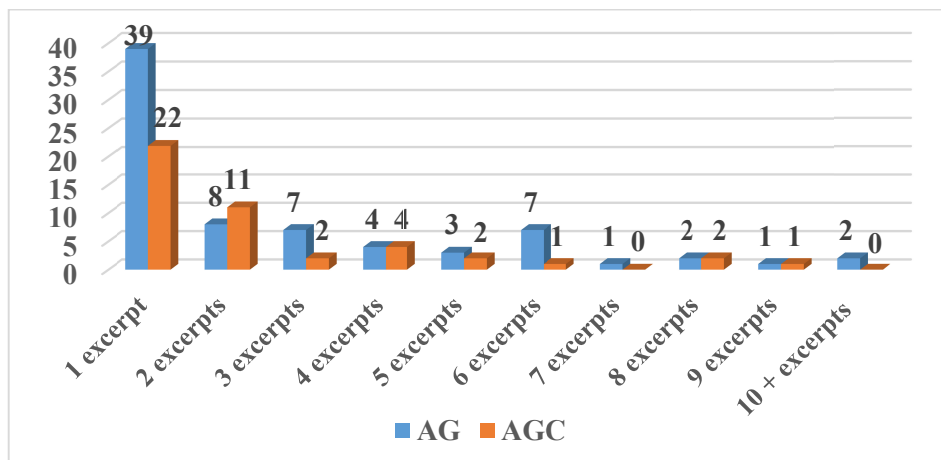


Figure 2. Number of vernacular segments pro dissertations, disputations and orations from the AG and AGC period (in absolute numbers)

From the figure, we can see the most common practice in language change, in both the AG and AGC periods, is to use just one vernacular segment within a dissertation. In both cases this practice of using single segments constitutes as much as nearly 53% of all of the AG multilingual imprints, and the equivalent for the AGC is approximately 48%. In the texts of the AG period 2–6 segments occur in 29 imprints (i.e. approx. 39% of the texts), which is a rather continuous occurrence, while in the AGC, the respective number is 20 constituting 43% of the texts. Therefore, more than six vernacular segments per text-unit is quite rare – seven excerpts occur only in a single AG period text, eight and nine excerpts equally in two and one imprint respectively, and during the first period of the Academy there are even two disputations that comprise more than 10 vernacular segments. Not a single similar disputation was written during the AGC. Even though there are just a few texts that comprise more than six segments, they are still important text-units to indicate the rather random openness towards languages other than Latin in academic dissertations, disputations and orations.

The length of segments written in a vernacular (by word count) varies to a rather large extent – from single-word segments to 400–500 word passages. The following figure (Figure 3) provides an overview of the length of the vernacular segments in words.

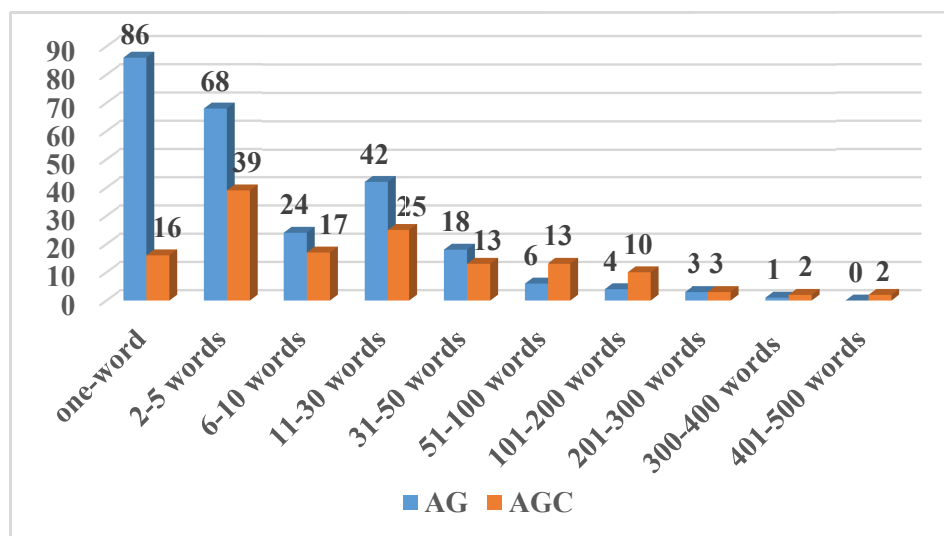


Figure 3. The length of vernacular segments in words

When comparing the two periods, it occurs that the AG period prefers to use shorter one-word switches in approximately 34% of the segments (which reflect to non-latinized toponyms), while the AGC imprints tend to choose rather

longer 2–5 word long segments that occur 39 times, i.e. constituting as much as 26% of all of the segments. In addition, a quarter of the segments (i.e. approx. 24% in the AG period) are in fact 11–50 words long, which, in turn, means that those segments consist of at least two to three sentences each, while during the AGC, shorter segments were preferred. There also seems to be a correlation between the length and the frequency of segments as well – the shorter the segments, the more frequently they occur, the longer the segments get, the less often they occur in disputations. However, there are still passages longer than 100 words – all in all in 24 segments – seven from the AG and 17 from the AGC period, constituting 6% of all segments – which, in turn, can be considered an indicator of the author’s cognizant choice of multilingual practices.

4.3.4.3. Languages and combinations of languages in vernacular interpolations

In order to provide a slightly different, but nevertheless one of the most important positions in regard to the study material, a division according to different languages and combinations of languages used in vernacular interpolations will be made. First, the proportion of the vernaculars used as well as different combinations of vernaculars within academic dissertations, disputations and orations will be given in percentages (see Figure 4 below).¹⁶⁷ Second, the dynamics of different vernaculars and language combinations will be studied chronologically (see Tables 4 and 5 below), and third, the use of different languages will be studied according to their text types (in Table 6 below).

¹⁶⁷ It has to be explicated here how the following language-abbreviations are used. All of the abbreviations used are in accord with ISO 639-1 and 639-2 language codes which refer to two or three letter common language abbreviations, respectively. The abbreviations and their combinations are as follows: DE stands for German, SE for Swedish, FR for French, EST for Estonian, SE+DE combination of Swedish and German (within a single imprint there are segments of both Swedish and German which might be following one another or might be mixed with one another within a segment. This principle is in effect with all the other vernacular combinations as well.), SE+FR for Swedish and French, DE+FR for German and French, DE+NL for German and Dutch, SE+FI for Swedish and Finnish, DE+NDS+EST for (High) German, Low German and Estonian, DE+SE+EST for German, Swedish and Estonian, EST+FR+DE for Estonian, French and German, and FR+SE+DE for French, Swedish and German. In all of those cases where just a single vernacular has been marked, it means that the vernacular has been mixed with the Latin matrix. In cases where a combination of vernaculars is given (i.e. whether a combination of two or three languages, e.g. SE+DE or FR+SE+DE), it means that segments in all of the given languages have been embedded in the Latin matrix. In many cases they do not appear within the same segment, but within the certain multilingual text-unit.

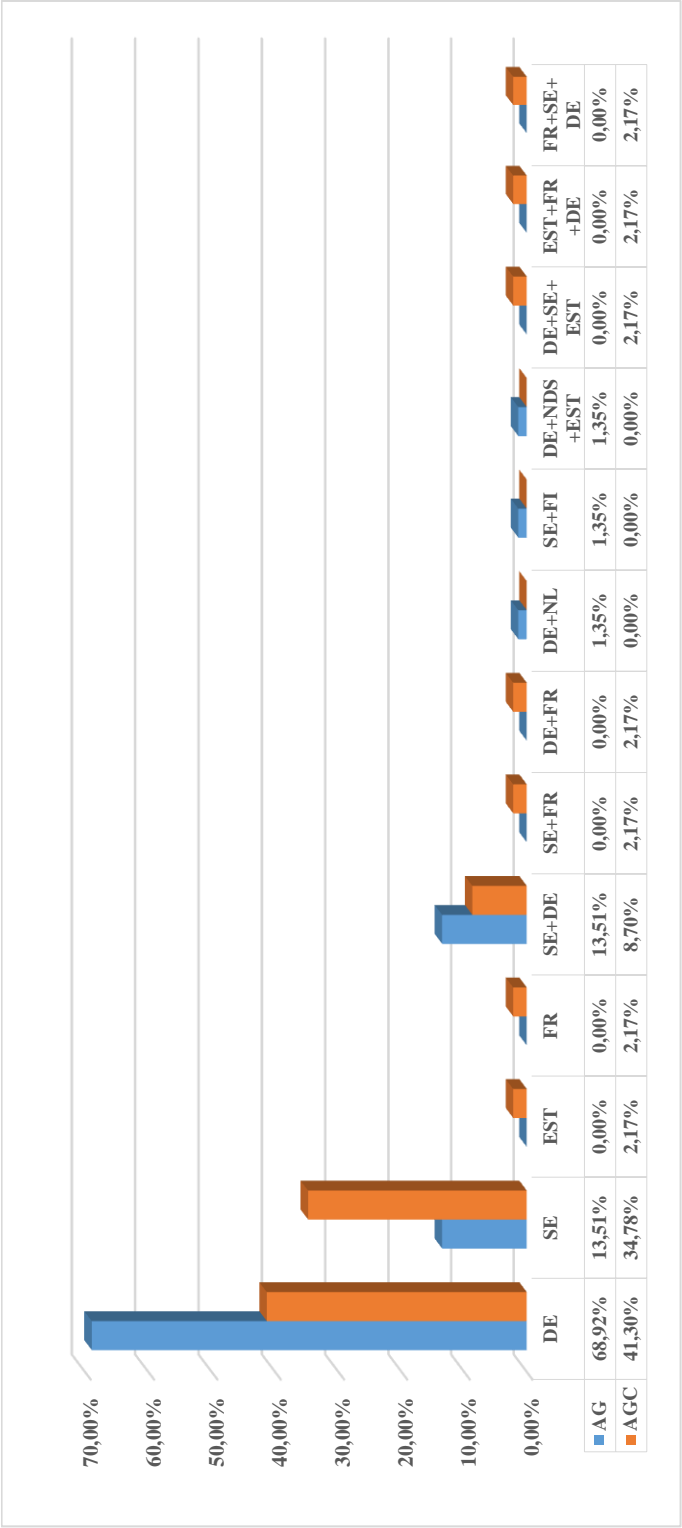


Figure 4. The proportion of languages and combinations of languages in vernacular interpolations within dissertations, disputations and orations (blue column AG, red column AGC)

From Figure 4, we can see that during the AG period the most popular vernacular within a Latin matrix was German, which was used in approximately 69% (51 imprints out of 74) of all multilingual imprints from this period. The second most popular language to be used was Swedish equally with combinations of Swedish and German (both occurred in 10 text-units constituting as much as approximately 14% of all of the texts). Less used were combinations of German and Dutch, Swedish and Finnish as well as German, Low German and Estonian, all occurring in one imprint.

The linguistic situation during the AGC period, on the other hand, was notably different. The occurrence of German and Swedish was (unlike the AG period) almost equal – German was the most often used vernacular with 41% and Swedish was used in as much as approximately 35% of the writings. The respective numbers of imprints are therefore 19 and 16 being much more similar to one another than in the AG period. However, similar to the Academy's first period, here too combinations of German and Swedish were used quite often as well (4 imprints out of 46).

From Figure 4 above it occurs that the AGC period was more multifaceted when taking into account the variety of languages used – both single vernaculars as well as different language combinations. While there were six different options for how vernaculars were used in text-units during the AG period, the respective number in the AGC period is considerably greater – as much as 10. During the AGC, not only are one or two vernaculars mixed with the Latin matrix, but there are cases (3 imprints) in which even 3 different languages are mixed with the matrix language.

In order to show whether the dynamics of the usage of different vernaculars and combinations of vernaculars differed within AG and AGC imprints or not, the proportions of the languages and language combinations according to the years they were printed are given in Table 4 and 5.

Based on the data given in Table 4 above, the AG period tends to be rather sustained in producing multilingual imprints almost throughout the period. As said before, the most commonly used vernacular is German, which occurs in imprints in almost every year. Swedish, which is the second most used vernacular, was first used eight years later, in 1640.

There are only two rather exceptional years – 1643 and 1656 – when not a single imprint with cases of language changes were printed. One assumption here might be that a general decrease occurred in the (printing) production of the Academy's print shop. This claim can be considered appropriate for 1656, when the overall amount of imprints was extremely low – a total of just 4 imprints (in comparison with the AG's yearly average of 36 imprints).¹⁶⁸ This cannot be used as a plausible explanation for 1643 because according to a figure in Jaanson's bibliography, it appears that production was quite high in 1643 –

¹⁶⁸ This extremely low productivity of Academy's print shop in 1656 can also be illustrated with a fact that the very same year represented the closedown of the AG due to the Russo-Swedish war (1656–58).

43 imprints, which clearly exceeds the Academy's annual average production volume (i.e. 36 imprints) (cf. Jaanson 2000: 38, 40).

Table 4. The dynamics of the occurrence of different vernaculars and combinations of vernaculars in the Latin ML in the AG multilingual text-units¹⁶⁹

	DE	SE	DE+SE	DE+NL	SE+FI	DE+NDS+EST
1632	3.92%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1633	3.92%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1634	3.92%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1635	5.88%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1636	7.84%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1637	7.84%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
1638	1.96%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1639	5.88%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1640	3.92%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1641	3.92%	10.00%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1642	3.92%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1643	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1644	3.92%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1645	1.96%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1646	0.00%	0.00%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1647	5.88%	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1648	3.92%	0.00%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1649	1.96%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1650	7.84%	10.00%	10.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%
1651	5.88%	30.00%	30.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1652	5.88%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1653	5.88%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1654	3.92%	20.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1655	0.00%	0.00%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1656	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The most linguistically varied year during the AG is 1650, when four separate vernacular groups can be defined – German, Swedish, German–Swedish as well as Swedish–Finnish.

When analysing the dynamics of multilingual text-units from the AGC period, there appear to be some similarities with the AG period, especially in using German as the most popular vernacular within the Latin matrix (see Table 5 below).

However, unlike the AG period, when German occurred in the multilingual imprints almost every year (with some slight exceptions), the use of German interpolations differ remarkably in two periods of the AGC: German interpolations were used continuously throughout the Dorpat period (AGCD, 1690–1699) with just one exception in 1690 when not a single text including a

¹⁶⁹ All the lines that have no value (i.e. corresponding language does not occur in either of two periods) or the value is 0%, are colored white. All the percentages that are smaller than 30%, and are also of prevalence, are colored light grey, all the percentages that are between 30–50% are colored darker grey. All of the other amounts are colored black.

vernacular was produced whatsoever.¹⁷⁰ In the Pernau period (AGCP, 1700–1710), however, German was still used as the dominant vernacular, occurring in writings over five years, but in six years out of the 11-year period (1701, 1702, 1704, 1705, 1708 and 1710, respectively) not a single occasion of German nor any vernacular interpolation in fact occurred.

Table 5. The dynamics of the occurrence of different vernaculars and combination of vernaculars in the Latin ML in the AGC multilingual text-units

	DE	SE	EST	FR	DE+SE	SE+FR	DE+FR	DE+SE+EST	EST+FR+DE	FR+SE+DE
1690	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1691	5.26%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1692	10.53%	18.75%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1693	10.53%	31.25%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1694	5.26%	6.25%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1695	5.26%	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1696	5.26%	12.50%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1697	10.53%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1698	10.53%	6.25%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1699	5.26%	6.25%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1700	5.26%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1701	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1702	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1703	5.26%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1704	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1705	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1706	10.53%	6.25%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1707	5.26%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1708	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
1709	5.26%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
1710	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Swedish is the second most used vernacular during AGC, but unlike to the AG period when the amount of imprints differed in as many as 41 text-units, in AGC the difference is just in 3 imprints (i.e. 19 included German and as many as 16 Swedish interpolations), which means that their usage is rather similar. The lack of Swedish segments in AGC materials (especially during AGCP) is a rather unexpected tendency due to the fact that most of the professors of that period as well as students were of Swedish origins, and some professors used vernaculars (i.e. Swedish) in lecturing as well.

The overall scarceness of multilingual imprints during AGC period could perhaps be explained by the fact that during AGCP there was a constant threat of war as well as the overall scarceness of Academy's printing production (see

¹⁷⁰ As 1690 represents the year when *Academia Dorpatensis* was re-established, it is a rather logical outcome that from this year the total printing production is rather low: just seven amongst which there were even not a single dissertation, disputation nor oration. In addition, during the AGC period the overall printing production was smaller in comparison to the AG period – just 24 imprints per year.

footnote 110 in sub-chapter 4.1.). For example, the average yearly volume of academic dissertations, disputation and orations in the Pernau period was 15.3 texts per year. In the years that lack multilingual imprints, the overall volume of print production is as follows: 17 in 1701, 20 in 1702, 6 in 1704, 13 in 1705, 19 in 1708 and just 1 in 1710. Therefore, print production only exceeded the average in the Pernau period in three years, and remained below the yearly average in the other years.

German–Swedish and Swedish–French interpolations only occur during the ACGD period, and German–French during the AGCP. Of the examples in which at least three languages are mixed together, one example occurs from the AGCD period when German–Swedish–Estonian can be found in one text, and Estonian–French–German and French–Swedish–German are both used in the AGCP period in 1709.

The above division as a yearly overview gives us some idea of the dynamics of different vernaculars and vernacular combinations. However, in order to get a better overview of how the vernacular segments were divided in different instructional text types, in dissertations, disputations, and orations according to their overall numbers, the following table (Table 6) has been added.¹⁷¹

According to the table, German segments from a marginal majority in the AG period – 128 segments out of 252, constituting as much as 50.79%. It is quite remarkable that as many as 89 of those excerpts occur in dissertations and disputation, and 39 in orations. The equivalent number for Swedish is 110 segments, occurring predominantly in orations – in 75 cases out of 110 – the proportions of which in comparison to the German segments is rather close – they differ only by 18 segments. Therefore, German and Swedish segments altogether constitute thus as much as 238 segments, which constitute approximately 94% of all of the segments (i.e. total 252 segments). In addition, there are seven segments in Low German, all which occurred in a single oration. Dutch occurred just as a single segment in a dissertation, both Estonian and Finnish were also used just once within an oration. There were four single segments in which a combination of Swedish and German occurred – equally once in a dissertation and oration and twice in a disputation. It is clear from here, that the vernaculars in which the segments are of prevalence – German and Swedish – can be considered majority languages, and all the other languages and their combinations as the minority languages.

¹⁷¹ In table 6 the division of vernacular written excerpts has been given taking into account the text types – whether dissertations, disputations or orations – as well as the aspect in which part of the writings the vernacular interpolations occurred. That is the distinction has been made between the content parts (marked just as DISS, DISP or OR) or paratexts (marked as the paratexts parts of each of those texts as PARA-DISS, PARA-DISP, PARA-OR). Under both period's vernaculars the overall sum (not the percentage) of the segments under corresponding vernacular or vernacular(s) combination(s) is given. With “sum AG” the overall number of vernacular segments from the AG period has been marked, and with “sum AGC” the equivalent number for the AGC period.

Even though the overall amount (in single segments) of Dutch, Low German, Estonian, Finnish and combinations of Swedish and German is rather low, constituting just 7% (Low German), 1.5% (combination of Swedish and German), and 0.40% (equally Dutch, Estonian and Finnish), respectively, they are important in this study as indicators of differentiated multilingual practices used in the Academy's first period.

The linguistic situation in the AGC period is slightly different. There, on the other hand, Swedish segments exceed the number of German segments – 80 segments vs 48, respectively. This means that Swedish segments constitute as much as 57% and German 34% of all the vernacular segments. The majority of both Swedish and German interpolations occur in the content parts of dissertations, considerably less in disputations and hardly none in orations. Nine German written segments out of 48 (i.e. 18.75%) are found in the paratext parts of dissertations (six segments), disputations (two segments) and orations (one segment). Swedish segments, on the other hand, occur predominantly in the content part, only three segments out of 80 (i.e. 3.75%) are written in the paratext parts.

The remaining segments involve minority vernaculars, such as French in five cases (with the equivalent of 6.25%) all which are found in paratexts and Estonian in three cases (3.75%). Besides single vernaculars that are mixed with a Latin matrix, there are some cases in the AGC period when two to three vernaculars have been combined with one another within a single segment. Such practices occur when mixing Swedish and German together, which occurs in a total of two segments of a dissertation, as well as combining French, Swedish and German also in two cases (both constituting 2.5%, respectively).

As seen from the data given in tables 2 and 3, the multilingual texts of disputations, dissertations and orations in both the AG and AGC periods were rather open to a number of vernacular segments. It is clear from the data that in academic dissertations, disputations and orations that comprised multilingual segments, bilingual texts prevailed (i.e. mixing a single vernacular with a Latin matrix), trilingual texts were infrequent (i.e. mixing two vernaculars with a Latin matrix) and quadrilingual appeared to be a rather rare practice (i.e. mixing three vernaculars with a Latin matrix) in the Academy's instructional production.

4.3.4.4. Comments on the vernacular segments – formulaic words and phrases in disputations, dissertations and orations as supporting elements of intrasentential code-switching

The focal point of this sub-chapter is formulaic words and phrases used in dissertations, disputations and orations in order to introduce subsequent vernacular segments. This is an aspect that makes the multilingual dissertations, disputations and orations a rather unique source for research because unlike other genres or sub-genres in the corpus of the present thesis, this is the only text group in which the language change has occasionally been commented on.

There is a number of different methods respectively for how the vernacular words or phrases were referred to. The most common references given in Latin before (or, in some cases, after) the vernacular interpolations were as follows:

- 1) direct or indirect reference to the following vernacular used almost unexceptionally;
- 2) Latin translation of the vernacular segment before or after the vernacular interpolation, and/or reference to the synonymous use of words and terms;
- 3) occasionally a detailed reference to the original author of the quotations and the name of the treatise in a Latinised form is also added. Sometimes, however, the exact number of the paragraph as well as the chapter and page number were given in abbreviated form.

Subsequently, the use of formulaic words and phrases will be analysed comparatively, focusing on the most common phrases both at the level of different vernaculars as well as the periods of the Academy (i.e. AG and AGC, respectively). In addition, the type of code-switching used between the matrix language and the embedded language is also analysed in the following sub-chapters.

4.3.4.4.1. The formulaic phrases commenting on Swedish segments

The overall number of Latin formulaic words and phrases in segments in which Swedish interpolations were commented on during the AG and AGC periods is 58 – 12 from the AG and 46 from the AGC period, respectively. Provided that the total number of Swedish segments in the *Academia Dorpatensis* was 192 (112 from the AG and 80 from the AGC period), it seems that the amount of formulaic introductory phrases constitute about 1/3 (app. 30%) out of the comprehensive sum. It is a rather surprising outcome that basically every third segment written in Swedish was provided with an introductory word or phrase especially when taking into account the fact of how rare this practice was within the overall corpus of academic text-units from the *Academia Dorpatensis*.

From the analysis I have made on the basis of academic dissertations, disputations and orations, it occurred that from the AG period there were only three cases in Swedish in which the exact author and treatise were referred to in front of the vernacular passage. The equivalent number from the AGC exceeds this by more than four times – with 13 passages. Often, different excerpts from legal texts were referred to in which there is only a reference to the treatise with or, rather exceptionally without, the detailed information about the passage, chapter or page number. For example:

/.../ In iure Svecico cap[itulum] 2 § 2 Konungs Balker legitur: Alle och the som i Rijke hans byggia och boa /.../ (cf. Asp 1647: A2 verso).¹⁷²

In the following example, the legislative text as a whole has been referred to in Latin, followed by a vernacular segment after which the exact chapter where the quoted passage was taken, is given:

/.../ Iure Svecico Han döma qwickani Jordmedh samwa diwregråswas/ eller/ Eid brånnas. Höghmålis Balker. c[aput] 14. (cf. Ludenius 1652).

In both of those examples intrasentential code-switching with alternations on a scheme of A–B–A occurs. Latin is used as the matrix language and, in those examples, Swedish is used as the embedded language. In fact, in all of the academic disputations, dissertations and orations Latin is the matrix language and vernaculars (either German, Swedish, French etc) are the embedded languages.

A more common way to introduce the Swedish interpolations was to refer directly to either the language, the people or to both. From the AG period there are nine such cases (constituting just 8% of all segments written in Swedish in the AG period), and from the AGC, 25 cases or more than one-quarter of the Swedish segments (i.e. as much as 31.25%), constituting a more regular practice.

From the Academy's first period an introductory formula is used, which contains the name of the language or nation and the verb that emphasizes the phrase:

- (1) /.../ quae *Sveci Sfidis vocant* /.../,
- (2) /.../ *Gothice Torsck appellamus*/.../ (cf. Bringander 1646).

Sometimes only the language is introduced in adverbial form:

- (3) /.../ *Svetice Broders Förbundh* /.../ (cf. Bergius 1650), or with nomen *idioma* or *lingua*:
- (4) /.../ *Horum sunt tria genera, primum vocant Svecico idiomate Skattbönder/ qui* /.../ (cf. Morgonstierna 1651),
- (5) /.../ *In iure Svecico ita cautum est*: [...] /.../ (cf. Ludenius 1642).

The last practice is also the most popular and used four times during the AG imprints (cf. Illustration. 10).

¹⁷² Cf. Asp, Magnus. (1647) *Ostrogothiae historia; quam ... In Regia Academia Gustaviana Adolphina....*Dorpati, 1647: J. Vogelius. R. Acad.Dorp. 1647:17 [cf. Jaanson 2000: 277, entry no. 526].

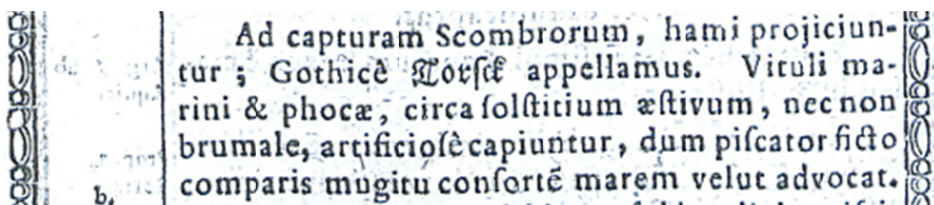


Illustration 10. An example of formulaic introductory phrases before the Swedish interpolation from 1646 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1646:10)

As can be seen, the above examples provide us with direct references to the vernacular to be used, and all of those options seem to be rather similar. The only visible difference from all the other examples seems to be with example number 2 in which instead of the common word stem *Svet-* or *Svec-* is preferred to the word *Gothice*, which refers to one of the three dialects used in Sweden in the 17th century.¹⁷³ In all of those cases, intrasentential code-switching is used. In example 2, the 1st plural form “we call” (*appellamus*) refers to the Swedish language that is supposed to be not only well known to the entire audience, but also their own vernacular (implying to say “as we all know”).

However, a slightly different practice in referring to vernacular interpolations was used in the AGC period. Despite the fact that amongst those 25 cases there is, imilar to the AG period, a number of different ways those formulaic words and phrases can be categorized, under each and every division there are a number of different examples.

First, the most popular way to introduce vernaculars was, again similiary to the AG period, to mention Swedish nation or languages before the interpolation(s). This practice was also used in nine cases:

- (1) /.../ *Svedis* Starrestuka dicto /.../ (cf. Sjöberg 1692),
- (2) *Hinc verum est Svecorum illud proverbium* Den hungrog maga gör ten godh Kogk. /.../ (cf. *Ibidem*),
- (3) /.../ *Svedica lingua* Stömkarl *vel* Näcken dictae /.../ (cf. Cameen 1693),
- (4) /.../ *Svionice* /.../ (cf. *Ibidem*),
- (5) /.../ *Svionice sermone lyse* *vel* lycktegubber dictus /.../ (cf. *Ibidem*),
- (6) /.../ *Cui Gothica vox, Kär* *vel* Kiär respondent /.../ (cf. Hermelin 1695),
- (7) /.../ *homines brutales, Svedice, wille och uhrsinnige Menniskior;* /.../ (cf. Carstenius 1699),
- (8) *Quae voces denique Sveonum* wandrig & wandringzmann *exacte respondent.* /.../ (cf. Hinnel 1699),
- (9) /.../ *vetustissimorum vocabulorum Svecanorum* /.../ (cf. Fahlenius 1706).

¹⁷³ Despite the fact that there was even the third possibility how to refer to the Swedes in the early modern period – *Vandali* (*Vandalia*) –, here in the texts of the present thesis the term was never used within multilingual passages, but only in some titles of the disputations, dissertations and/or orations.

This practice is quite similar to the formulaic phrases used in the Academy's first period. Here the word *Gothice* is used only once to refer to Swedish. In all the other examples the *Sved-* or *Svio-* stem is preferred (cf. Illustration 11).

§. II.

Et primum quidem tenendum, nomen Prudentis à providendo desumptum esse. Nam Prudens semper providere solet, quid eligendum quidve fugiendum sibi sit, & quomodo actiones suas circumstantiis loci, temporis, personarum & rerum accommodare possit, quo sensu etiam à Nostratibus *Sörstigtig* nuncupatur. Ast Peregrinatio & Peregrinator à *peragrarè*, quod idem est atq; in exteras & longinquas Regiones proficisci vel commeare, derivari posse videntur, non secus ac peregrinus, qui veteribus *pereger* seu *peregris*, dicebatur. Alii à pergendo aut progrediendo has voces deducunt. Sic Græcis *ἀπόδημος* significat peregrè agentem vel absentem à patria, & *ἀποδημία* profectiōem à suis popularibus ad alium populum, uti testatur David Frölichius Part. I. lib. I. Viatorii sui. Quæ voces deniq; Sveonum *tvandring* & *tvandringzman* exactè respondent. Sed ad rem ipsam.

§. III.

Illustration 11. Introductory formulaic phrases for Swedish interpolations, 1699 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1699:24)

Second, other ways in respect to factors of how and why the vernacular interpolations were introduced, on the other hand, differ greatly from the previous practices due to the fact that there were not a single similar example used in the AG period academic dissertations, disputations or orations. In the following examples, the vernacular language (i.e. Swedish) is referred to with the possessive pronoun “our” or “ours” (with the Latin equivalent of *noster*¹⁷⁴), which, in turn,

¹⁷⁴ Word *nostratus* (used in examples 2 and 5) is synonymous adjective form for *noster*. As it is actually a medieval form and therefore an anachronism in early modern Latin (as it is not found in any of the lexicons or dictionaries of later periods), it is rather interesting that it was still used in 17th century in a student's text.

means that the audience of a dispute must have at least understand Swedish or be of the same origin. All in all there are in fact nine such cases that constitute as much as approximately 30% of all the Swedish-written formulaic words and phrases from the AGC period. The examples are as follows:

- (1) /.../ *quam nos* [...] *vocamus* /.../ (cf. Hermelin 1692),
- (2) /.../ *juxta illud nostratibus tritissimum* [...] /.../ (cf. Grund 1693),
- (3) /.../ *Sveones autem nostri Spöken nominant* /.../ (cf. Cameen 1693),
- (4) /.../ *Nostris dicitur Duels-Placet* /.../ (cf. Kenicius 1693),
- (5) /.../ *secunder sive Utmaningsmän nostratibus* /.../ (cf. *Ibidem*),
- (6) /.../ *apud nos Käkenpenning dicto* /.../ (cf. Salvius 1696),
- (7) /.../ *Nostro autem Idiomate Skack speel appellatur* /.../ (cf. *Ibidem*) etc.

The usage of *noster* in example number 4 was the most popular practice, and thus used as many as three times. All the other practices appear just once with Swedish written vernacular interpolations. Here when using either the phrases *nos vocamus* (we call), *nostro idiomate* (in our language), *nostris dicitur* (in our [language] it is said; by our people it is said), *Sveones nostri nominant* (Swedes in our language name it) the authors refer to “our language” as to something that is supposed to (as in the previously given examples) be known to the audience. In addition, by using those words, the authors also emphasized the more national self-consciousness as well as group affiliation of the students in respect to the audience.

Third, amongst all of the Swedish interpolations introducing formulaic phrases, there are three examples in which the equivalent vernacular is referred to as “fatherland” as well as to mother tongue, and thus again the audience must have known to which language the subsequent switch was to be made. Such examples are as follows:

- (1) /.../ *qui in patria nostra Skothall appellatur* /.../ (cf. Hermelin 1692),
- (2) /.../ *Tales forte sunt qui patria lingua vocantur Tomptegubber* /.../ (cf. Cameen 1693),
- (3) /.../ *cujus articulus 2. patrio sermone ita habet* /.../ (cf. Hinnel 1699).

Besides those instances, there were also two examples in which the Swedish language is referred to as a vernacular (language) with the stem *vulgo/vulg-*, but without a negative connotation:

- (4) /.../ *quos vulgus svecanum dicit wara i syne* /.../ (cf. Sjöberg 1692),
- (5) /.../ *vulgo Landz-allmenning* /.../ (cf. Hermelin 1694).

All of those above examples of the usage of formulaic words and phrases with Swedish written vernacular interpolations were used in the content part of the academic imprints, and, in fact, not a single one was found from the paratexts.

4.3.4.4.2. Formulaic phrases commenting on German segments

The total number of Latin formulaic phrases written in order to introduce German segments is 91 – 71 from the AG and 20 from the AGC period. In consideration of the fact that the total number of German segments from both of the Academy's periods was 176 (i.e. 128 segments from the AG and 48 from the AGC period), the introductory formulaic phrases constitute as much as approximately 52%, which, in turn, means that more than half of the German segments are provided with those formulas.

In contrast to the previously analysed Swedish examples providing texts with detailed references to the authors and their treatises from the AG period, in the German segments during the AG, this practice was considerably more popular – out of 71 formulaic phrases this type covers as many as 23 (i.e. 32.4%). In addition, examples from the AG period also tend to be more detailed, and almost every second example refers directly to Luther or his writings. For example (cf. Virginius 1651),

(1) *Dignissima quoque quae huc adscribantur, judico verba viri Dei consta[n]tissimique, veritatis confessoris **Doct[oris] Mart[ini] Luth[eri] quae habentur in confess[i]one Maj[or]i de S[acro]S[an]cta Coena, Tom[us] 2, Wit[tenbergensis] p[agina] 216 & 217. Tom[us] Ien[ensis] 3. fol[i]o 48.49.211** Mein lieber HErr JEsu Christe! /.../.*

Unlike the usage of formulas in the Swedish segments, in which all the formulaic phrases were used in the content parts, there is a single example of German in which this phrase was found from the paratext part of a *corollaria* (cf. Virginius 1634):

*/.../ **Versio itaque Germanica:** Schmücket das Fest mit Maien biß an die Hörner des Altars: ratione typi propriam verborum Hebraeorum significationem non exprimit; id quod /.../*

In addition there are 13 cases in which German has been referred to both as a language as well as a nation. This practice is very similar to the Swedish analogue. For example:

- (1) */.../ lacus ille, jam Pilati dicitur, prout Rythmi illi **Germanici testantur** /.../* (cf. Langius 1637),
(2) */.../ Interpretes **a Germanico [populo] Voktey**, id est, praefectura /.../* (cf. Secrenius 1637), (3) */.../ **in Germanica versione** /.../* (cf. Spinerus 1639),
(4) */.../ varijs **Germanicis nominibus appellantur** /.../* (cf. Ludenius 1637a),
(5) */.../ **idiomate Germanico sapientissime vertit** /.../* (cf. Ljung 1637),
(6) *quo **Germani** ad exprimendam personarum Trinitatem **utuntur**, /.../* (cf. Friedenrich 1639), (7) */.../ **Germanice ita reddidit** /.../* (cf. Udenius 1640),
(8) */.../ Verum Carolus Magnus, Mensem hunc **in lingua Germanica dixit: Brachmonat/ vom Brachen**, quod iam Agricola exercere solum soleat sub vomere /.../* (cf. Frymolinus 1648),

- (9) /.../ **Germanice reddit** /.../ (cf. Virginius 1650),
 (10) /.../ **Et Germani dicunt** /.../ (cf. Frymolinus 1640),
 (11) /.../ **Veteres germani dixerunt:** umb S[ankt] Veit/ kömpt die Fliege selb nennde. /.../ (cf. *Ibidem*),
 (12) /.../ **Germanis significat** /.../ (cf. Lilonius 1651),
 (13) /.../ **versio Germanica** /.../ (cf. Lidenius, Gudmundus 1651).

The formulaic phrases used in order to introduce German interpolations during the AGC period were quite similar to those used to introduce Swedish. Here too possessive pronoun “our” or its derivative *nostratus*, *a*, *um* was used, but unlike the previous examples it occurred here only once (compared to nine cases from the previous instances). For instance:

- (1) /.../ *quo sensu etiam a Nostratibus* Försichtig nuncupatur /.../ (cf. Hinnel 1699).

Besides using possessive pronouns in formulaic phrases, in AGC period there are two cases when demonstrative pronouns were used in order to reflect to the speakers as third person and thus to the used language as well. For example,

- (1) /.../ *quae* **ipsis dicitur**, die hohe Landeß-Obrigkeit /.../ (cf. Dunte 1691),
 (2) /.../ *quod ipse Germanico idiomate ita exprimit* /.../ (cf. Hinnel 1699).¹⁷⁵

Similar to Swedish, here too there are 2 cases in which direct references to the following vernacular are given with the stem *vulgo*:-

- (1) /.../ **vulgo vor Pommern dictam** /.../ (cf. Hinnel 1697),
 (2) /.../ *Unde vulgarem quoque obtinuit loquendi morem:* Mein Hertze sagte mir es wohl: *quippe nec inusitatum omnino est* /.../ (cf. Brehmer 1706).

4.3.4.4.3. The main characteristics of formulaic phrases commenting on other minority languages

Both German and Swedish were by far the most often used vernacular embedded languages in the dissertations, disputations and orations of the *Academia Dorpatensis*, and segments of either language were also provided most often (i.e. in 41%) with a number of introductory formulaic phrases.

All the other so-called minority vernaculars, such as Low German, Dutch and Estonian were hardly ever used with formulaic introductory phrases.

The only example out of 17 segments (i.e. seven in Low German, five in French, four in Estonian and one in Dutch), provided with a formulaic phrase, was written in Estonian during the AG period¹⁷⁶ The structure of the formula is,

¹⁷⁵ As both of them referred to the usage of German, it has to be mentioned here that Gregorius Dunte (1669–1747) was from Riga, and Gabriel Hinnel (1677–1735) from Ingria (cf. Tering 1984: 300, 336, entries no 1143 and 1349, respectively).

¹⁷⁶ It is, however, noteworthy, that 8 out of 17 segments in minor vernaculars occurred in paratexts.

however, quite traditional; in other words, a direct reference to the following vernacular (cf. Risingh 1637):

- (1) /.../ *diciturque lingua Esthonica Carieporth quasi Porta pecudum, eo quod pleraque pecora per eam passum agantur. .../.../*
 (“/.../ and in *Estonian this is called Carieporth [Karjavärav]*, so-called “cattle gate” through which most of the cattles are lead to the pastures /.../”)

After referring to Estonian and giving the equivalent term, the explanation of it that follows is given again in Latin.¹⁷⁷ This example demonstrates that colloquial languages can be occasionally mixed even within a word. The type of this intrasentential code-switching is again alternation switching on the schemes of Latin–Estonian–Latin. (cf. Illustration 12).

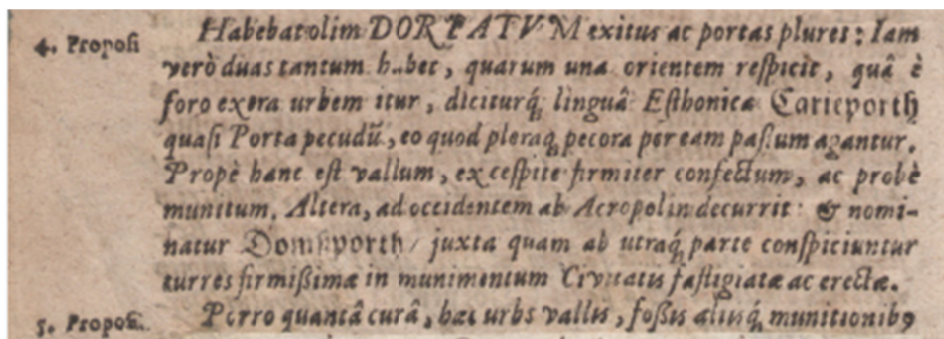


Illustration 12. An example of using Estonian in an oration from 1637 (MRBD, R Est.A-5074/12)

4.3.4.4.4. The main characteristics of formulaic phrases commenting on different vernacular combinations

Under this section, a two-part division can be made: (1) analysing formulaic phrases which introduce bilingual combinations of Swedish and German, and (2) phrases that introduce trilingual combinations of French, German and Swedish.

The total number of bi- and trilingual vernacular segments is eight – four SE+DE combinations from the AG and two from the AGC period, as well as two FR+DE+SE combinations from the AGC period. All of those examples are provided with introductory phrases.

¹⁷⁷ As according to the lexicons reflecting the usage of Estonian of the 17th century the word *Carieporth* has not been used in written Estonian language, and so most probably, it is a reflector of the overall practice of oral Estonian language used in the early modern period (the claim is made due to the e-mail conversations on the topic with linguist Jüri Viikberg on 17–18 October 2016).

Out of six Swedish and German segments, five (i.e. approx. 83%) indicate the language as well as the nation. From the AG these phrases are as follows:

- (1) /.../ *Suecis* klaar Lufft, *Germanis* Die Lufft oder die Weite zwischen Himmel und der Erden. /.../ (cf. Bergius 1647),
- (2) /.../ *Germani* die Feste des Himmels/ *Sveci* Himmelens Fåste/ *vertunt*. /.../ (cf. Lidenius 1651);

and from the AGC:

- (1) /.../ *quod Germani* aussen bleiben/ *Sveci* kijkhosta vocant. /.../ (cf. Braun 1709).

The following example refers to the usage of vernacular language(s), but unlike the other examples, where two languages have been mentioned by name within the same formulaic phrase, here clear distinction between the usage of Swedish and German has not been made. In fact, these vernaculars are considered as one and referred to together as “our vernacular language”. For instance (cf. Virginius 1651; Illustration. 13),

- (1) /.../ *Uti igitur in vernaculo nostro sermone* tånkia och tacka dencken & dancken *sono non longe distant; /.../.*

Here the schemes Latin–SE+DE–Latin is used, and therefore it is again an alternation. This example indicates that these Germanic languages were casually considered as one (*vernaculum nostrum*) on the basis of their sonance. In all such analogous examples, introductory words referring to the vernaculars (i.e. *Suecis*, *Germanis*) were always given in a Latinized form.

mnos & gratiarum actiones dicat ac cantet. Uti igitur in vernaculo nostro sermone tånkia och tacka dencken & dancken sono non longè distant; ita & hæc, i.e., oportet, esse in hoc negocio conjunctissima juxta illud Psal. 103. 2. Lauda anima mea Dominum & noli oblivisci omnium beneficiorum ejus.

Illustration 13. An example of a Latin introductory formula for Swedish and German interpolations, 1651 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1651:13)

It is a more common practice in those writings with analogous examples in which at least two different vernaculars were used to refer to both of those languages, and therefore here it must have been up to the audience to distinguish themselves between those two vernaculars.

Phrases used with both of the trilingual segments are rather similar and give direct reference to the vernaculars used:

- (1) /.../ Batement de Coeur *Gall[ice]*, das Hertzklopffen *Germ[anice]*, Hiertklapning *Svet[ice]* *dicta*. /.../ (cf. Braun 1709),
- (2) /.../ *convulsio dicitur: German[ice]*. Der krampf/ die krampsucht *Gall[ice]* la crampe, la convulsion; Svetic[e] Krampen/ Senedrag. /.../ (cf. *Ibidem*).

The only difference between the above given examples is the order in which the references to the vernaculars have been given. In the first case the formulaic phrases follow the vernacular segments, and in the second case they precede them.

4.3.4.5. A thematical-formal typology of code-switching and the Academy's most common linguistic preferences by faculty

As seen in the analysis above, vernaculars were used in a number of instructional imprints throughout the *Academia Dorpatensis*. In the following chapter the hypothesis will be proved, if the usage of different vernaculars and combination of vernaculars can be related to the topics handled. Therefore, the thematic-formal typology of all vernacular segments will be formulated comparatively, provided that the AG and AGC periods show a different usage of the vernaculars.

At first the linguistic preferences of different faculties will be discussed in order to have a thorough understanding of them, and subsequently closer insights about which topics were most commonly used for code-switching will be given.

4.3.4.5.1. The Academy's most common linguistic preferences by faculty

According to Jaanson's bibliography the most productive faculty under which dissertations, disputations and orations were written, was the faculty of Theology, followed by Philosophy, Jurisprudence and Medicine. In terms of thematic distribution, the most popular by far appears to be the theological sphere, again, followed by writings on philosophy, natural sciences, jurisprudence, poetics, rhetoric and Medicine (cf. Jaanson 2000: 44).

When analysing multilingual dissertations, disputations and orations from both the AG and AGC periods, the linguistic division on the basis of linguistic performance as well as (linguistic) preferences in various faculties is slightly different.

During the AG period, the most productive faculty on account of single text-units containing multilingual practices was the Faculty of Theology with 43 imprints out of 74 (i.e. 58%). Vernacular segments in theological texts were found from the academic production of almost every year. The only exceptions were 1643, 1646, 1649, 1655 and 1656 from which not a single vernacular interpolation in theological disputations, dissertations nor orations was found.

The vast majority of vernacular segments here were written in German – 64 out of 65 (i.e. nearly 98.5%), and one in Dutch.

The professor most favorable towards using vernacular segments in the AG period, was the first professor of Theology, Andreas Virginus.¹⁷⁸ Out of all 43 theological imprints, he presided over, as many as 27 disputations, and 55 vernacular segments (out of 65) were found from those imprints. As the total number of theological treatises he initiated during the AG period was 70, basically in every second imprint some German-written segments occurred. This surely is an evidence of the rather conventional use of vernaculars in the theological treatises of a Lutheran academy.

The second faculty where academic texts contained some examples of multilingual practices was the Faculty of Philosophy with 22 imprints (i.e. approx. 30%). Despite the fact that this faculty had the lowest standing amongst the others (i.e. Theology, Jurisprudence and Medicine), it provided the most extensive amount of subject fields, such as metaphysics, logic, didactics, rhetoric, ethics, politics etc. Linguistically, this faculty is also the most various in providing vernaculars other than German (such as Swedish, Finnish and Estonian).

There are nine vernacular interpolations containing imprints written under the Faculty of Jurisprudence both in Swedish as well as German. Here German segments exceed those in Swedish (23 and 16 segments, respectively), but in terms of words, the Swedish segments are, in turn, longer. Eight imprints out of nine were presided by the second professor of Jurisprudence, Laurentius Ludenius. Heinrich Hein, the first professor of Jurisprudence presided over just a single dissertation with a single German interpolation.

Under the Faculty of Medicine, not a single dissertation, disputation nor oration containing a vernacular interpolation was printed during the Academy's first period. In fact, the total number of medical imprints during the *Academia Dorpatensis* was just five – two printed during the AG and three during the AGC period (cf. Rein 2011: 39–40).

In fact, the biggest difference between the imprints of the AG and AGC periods, on the basis of the linguistic preferences of the faculties, can be explained by the fact that during the Academy's second period there occurred a medical imprint containing vernacular interpolations. All in all there were just three imprints written under the Faculty of Medicine in the AGC period. The dissertation written in 1709 that was presided over by professor of Medicine, Lars Braun, comprises trilingual (French-German-Swedish) vernacular combinations which, in turn, are preceded or followed by Latin explanations.

When comparing the most favorable linguistic performances of the faculties during the AGC period, the outcome is quite different from the AG.

¹⁷⁸ A. Virginus was of German origin and one of the most preeminent professors of Theology in the AG. In fact, he worked at the Academy throughout its first period (i.e. 1632–1656). In addition, in 1632, 1633, 1639, 1642, 1648, 1655 he held the position of rector of the University of Dorpat (cf. Inno 1972:86–87; Lepajõe 2012b: 247–249).

The majority of academic imprints containing multilingual practices occurred in the production of the Faculty of Philosophy. Out of 46 imprints comprising vernacular interpolations, as many as 34 were written under this faculty (i.e. nearly 74%). Thematically here too philosophical writings are the most multifaceted, comprising the following segments: descriptions (incl. different persons, phenomenon etc.) (12 imprints), quotations from political treatises (11), etymological explanations (7), enigmatic questions, poems (4). Philosophical dissertations were printed throughout the AGC period; the only exceptions were the years 1700 and 1703, when not a single multilingual imprint was found.

The professor most prone to use vernacular interpolations when presiding over dissertations was professor of theoretical Philosophy, Gabriel Sjöberg. He presided over seven disputations out of which five contained Swedish and two German interpolations. Professor of rhetoric and history, Olaus Hermelin presided over six disputations – four contained Swedish and two German interpolations. Michael Dau, professor of theorethical Philosophy presided over five imprints – out of which three contained Swedish and two German segments. As two of the mentioned professors (G. Sjöberg and O. Hermelin, respectively) were of Swedish origin, it is a rather logical outcome that out of all of the vernaculars they preferred Swedish. Michael Dau, on the other hand, who was of German origin and claimed to have poor knowledge of Swedish (cf. Piirimäe 1982:90), yet preferred to use more Swedish than any other vernacular.

Unlike the AG period in which the Faculty of Theology demonstrated the greatest openness to multilingual practices, during the AGC period this took a secondary position. As many as eight theological imprints contained vernacular segments (i.e. approximately 17.4%), with a prevalence for German. While the vast majority of the theological segments were taken from the treatises of M. Luther during the AG period, in AGC period, on the other hand, his works were hardly ever referred to, and quotations from treatises by other contemporary authors were preferred instead. Unlike the multilingual imprints in other faculties, which are mostly presided over by just a couple of professors, here all eight disputations are presided over by a different professor.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ The presiding professors are as follows (after the name in brackets the year of their presided disputation is given): (1) Professor of Mathematics, Sueno Dimberg (1691), (2) Professor of Greek and Oriental Languages, Gabriel Skragge (1692), (3) Third Professor of Theology, Lars Molin (1697), (4) Professor of Morals and Politics, Gabriel Sjöberg (1698), (5) Professor of Logic and Physics, Daniel Sarcovius (1699), (6) Professor of History, Michael Dau (1700), (7) Professor of Greek and Oriental Languages, Eric Fahlenius (1703), (8) Professor of Rhetorics and Poetics, Jacob Wilde (1706).

Under the Faculty of Jurisprudence, three imprints containing vernaculars were printed (i.e. 2.08%), comprising both Swedish as well as German interpolations. Despite the fact that there are almost three times less jurisprudential texts than theological texts, (then) on the basis of the number of segments and words, juridical texts exceed the latter.

Out of the professors O. Hermelin presided over two disputations and G. Skragge a single one.

The data on thematic preferences by period and language has also been given compactly in a table view (cf. Table 7 below), and is also briefly analysed.

As can be seen from the table, there are clear preferences towards certain vernaculars in both periods – in the AG, German is used as the most multifaceted vernacular occurring under eight different types of text (1–8 from Table 7). This was followed by Swedish with five different types and some minority vernaculars each providing a single text type. During the AGC period, on the other hand, linguistic preferences are just the opposite – Swedish interpolations take prevalence with seven different themes, followed by German with five. As in the AG period, here too the minority vernaculars each cover just one separate topic.

Subsequently, some examples are given under majority and minority vernaculars as well as language combinations.

4.3.4.5.2. The main types of vernacular segments used for insertion in Latin dissertations, disputations and orations

The most extensive variety of segments that could occur in a vernacular language during the AG period was seen in the usage of German that enabled the following:

(1) unlatinized forms of toponyms and proper names, including name listings and nicknames

- a) *Treyden pro Turaida* (cf. Bringander 1649);
- b) */.../ confusum illud & indigestum Eccii in Vetus, Emseri des Sudlers in Novum Instrumentum, chaos si vellem attingere, tempus perderem /.../* (cf. Weideling 1633);
- c) */.../ M[agister] Heinricus Bünting /.../* (cf. Virginius 1642).

One of the reasons why Latinized names were preferred might have been the earlier writing tradition as well as known source material which recommended this style. The practice of using personal names still varied greatly during the *Academia Dorpatensis*, and one of the characteristics is parallel usage of anthroponyms and toponyms (cf. Jaanson 2000: 166–7).

There are cases in which, for instance, the author's surname is Germanized but the forename has been Latinized (cf. example 1-c). All of those examples present intrasentential CS and alternation – switching from Latin to a vernacular and then back to Latin.

In addition, there are just a few cases in which a person's Latinized anthroponym is followed by his nickname added in German (cf. example 1-b).

(2) Headings and subheadings of German books

In most cases when headings and sub-headings of books are presented, the reference to the authentic author remains in Latin and the name of the treatise is in a vernacular (cf. example 2-a). It seems to be rather a frequent practice that the titles of the treatises are in Latin and sub-titles in German (cf. example 2-b).

- a) E.g. (a) /.../ *Illustris Steno Bielke d[icto] l[oco] Vid[e] Reformation guter Policey zu Augspurg An[no] .../.../* (cf. Ludenius 1637b);
- b) /.../ *Anatomia Marpurg[ensi] P[agina] 28 seq[uentes] Abgenötigte Antwort p[agina] 19, 53, 65, seqq[uentes] Endlicher Bericht p[agina] 26, 32, 33 /.../* (cf. Vermerus 1636).

(3) terminology and phraseological expressions

Under “terminology and phraseological expressions” all the terms and expressions (both single-word as well as longer phrases) with a specific meaning, incl. standings are considered. In most cases when those terms are used, at first the Latin analogue is presented which is followed by its vernacular equivalent (cf. example 3-a, b). While in the previous examples, specific terminology was used in political and jurisprudential imprints, there are instances in which similar examples were used in theological writings as well. For instance, there is an example from a dissertation written in 1639 in which there is a discussion on the exact equivalent of the Holy Trinity in German (cf. example 3-c). Under this division, one of the most important as well as interesting examples of language mixing occurs. On a title page of one of the disputations from 1652, a Latin-German mixed version of the official name of one of the brotherhoods (i.e. *Brotherhood of Blackheads* (en) and *Die Bruderschaft der Schwarzhäupter* (de)) is given (cf. example 3-d). Here such mixed usage of languages might be explained by the idea of Latin being (in the above given phrase) slightly inappropriate and ambivalent for one component of the phrase, and so the second part was replaced by a vernacular. All of the switches again are examples of intrasentential code-switching and appear to be alternations. (cf. Illustration 14)

- a) /.../ *et ipsi qui exercent eas opifices non artifices, Handwerksleute /.../* (cf. Savonius 1632);
- b) /.../ *Sic est Status sive Ordo Nobilitatis, der Ritterstand/ der Wehrstand /.../* (cf. Rivius 1650);
- c) /.../ *si rem recte velimus aestimare, nomen illud, [Dreyfaltigkeit] quo Germani ad exprimendam personarum Trinitatem utuntur, minus conveniens est, cum triplicitatem potius sonet, quam Trinitatem, quae rectius dicitur Dreyeinigkeit/ quam Dreyfaltigkeit /.../* (cf. Friedenrich 1639);
- d) /.../ *SODALITI der Schwarzenhäupter /.../* (cf. Lidenius 1652).¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ This is a very good example of using multilingual practices. The name for the Brotherhood of Blackheads was mostly used in German as “Bruderschaft der Schwarzhäupter”. As the brotherhood was created during the period in which the dominant position of Latin was already taken over by the vernaculars, this is the reason its members did not use this term in Latin. Yet, there are some examples in the municipal documents from the early 15th century

habet subsistendi modos; sic DEus est trinus, non triplex; ac proinde, si rem rectè velimus æstimare, nomen istud, [**Dreyfaltigkeit**] quò Germani ad exprimendam personarum Trinitatem utuntur, minùs conveniens est, cum *triplicitatem* potius sonet, quàm *Trinitatem*, quæ rectius dicitur **Dreyeinigkeit**/ quàm **Dreysfaltigkeit**. (2) in Deum non cadere numerum *strictè & propriè* sic dictum: In ea namq; significatione numerus est quantitas discreta seu multitudo per unitatem mensurata, vel ex unitatibus collecta, & major qualibet suâ parte, quarum una ab altera *essentialiter* (essentiâ nimirum *vel specifica vel ad minimum*).

Illustration 14. An example of the usage of vernacular terminology in a dissertation by Jacobus Friedenrich, 1639 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1639: 25)

(4) short explanations of word's etymology

When explaining the etymology of words, a German equivalent is given even when describing some Swedish toponyms (cf. example 4-a,b). For instance, the etymology of Stockholm has been described using German terms provided with longer explanations in Latin.

- a) /.../ *Stockholmia nomen habere videtur a **Stok**/ quod Germanis trabem, vel crassius lignum significat, **Holm** vero insulam; quasi diceret, **Stockholm** insulam trabium /.../ (cf. Lilonius 1651);*
- b) /.../ *qui terram dici existimant, quasi **des Feindes Land**; quam vocem consuetudo postea in **Finland** contraxit. /.../ (cf. Gruuf 1650).*

(5) proverbs, sayings, enigmatic questions and (6) poems and hymns

Proverbs, different enigmatic questions, sayings as well as poems and hymns were used in a number of different cases and text types. In most cases they are provided with Latin formulaic introductions introducing the language of the following segment. However, when poems are used, the typology of the code-switching differs from all the other vernacular interpolations used either in academic disputations, dissertations and/or orations. In particular, as poems are not written in prose as in the rest of the main text, the code-switching occurring is intersentential and not intrasentential (mostly used here) (cf. sub-chapter 4.3.1.4 from above).

in which the brotherhood was referred to in Latin as *capita nigra* – a phrase most probably translated into Latin by an educated man who kept the records. One example of such practice of referring to brotherhood in Latin, is written in the bookkeeping document of the dominicans in Reval that was published in the treatise of G. von Walther-Wittenheim from 1938 on page 142 as follows: /.../ *Item 1 tunna esoce et poci et piscarum cum 2 1/2 marcas provisores **nigrorum capitum**. /.../ (in the *Die Dominikaner in Livland im Mittelalter. Die natio Livoniae. Roma*) (e-mail conversation with Anu Mänd and Kristi Viiding from 5 October 2017).*

- 5, a) /.../ *umb. S[ankt]. Veit/ kömpt die Fliege selb nennde.* /.../ (cf. Frymolinus 1648);
- 6, a) /.../ *Zwischen Lucern und Unterwalden/ Erhebt er sicht mit gehem staltn* /.../ (cf. Langius 1637); (cf. Illustration 15).

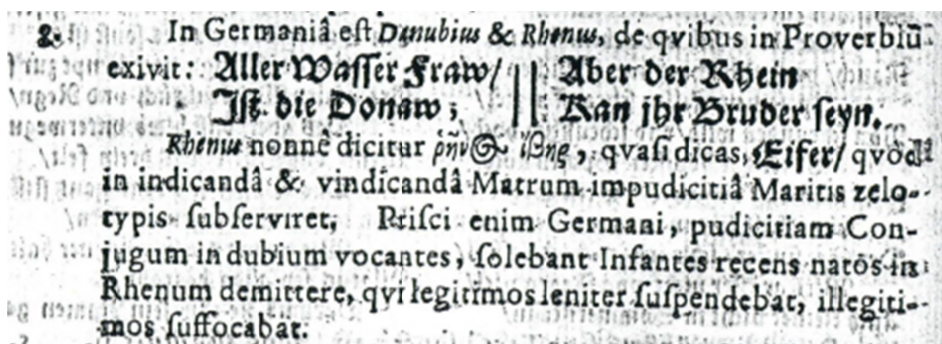


Illustration 15. An example of a vernacular written proverb in an oration by Petrus Langius in 1637 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1637:14)

(7) quotations and commentaries (e.g. quotes from contemporary theological literature, jurisprudential texts, historical books and political treatises)

Quotations and commentaries, especially those taken from contemporary theological literature constitute rather a large part of the vernacular interpolations. In most cases they were used in German and referred either to the Bible or to some of the M. Luther's treatises.

- a) /.../ *Quare etiam Sacramenta per contemptum quidam, maxime (Calviniani) Beywege appellitant,* /.../ (cf. Vermerus 1636).
- b) /.../ *Illustris Steno Bielke d[ic]to l[oco]. V[ide] Reformation guter Policey zu Augspurg A[nno] 1530. & 1548.* /.../ (cf. Ludenius 1637a).

The usage of Swedish segments during the AG period was more limited; for example, there are no quotations from the Bible nor proverbs, sayings, enigmatic questions. In addition, no etymological explanations of different words occurred whatsoever. Only unlatinized forms of toponyms and proper names and name listings, terminology and formulas, a poem, quotations from legal writings, including the code of laws and a soldier's oath, were written in Swedish.

Similar to the usage of German, here too there occurs a number of cases in which terminology (especially different standings) are presented in a vernacular.

For example:

/.../ *Secundus est Riksens Marsk/ cujus officium ist, Generalem agere belli Ducem* /.../ (cf. Morgonstierna 1651).

Unlike the analogous German-usage, here the standing is initially given in Swedish followed by a longer explanation in Latin. No synonyms in Latin have been given whatsoever.

What is rather peculiar about the use of Swedish is that while most of the vernaculars appear in the main text, a four-verse poem written in this language also occurs on the title page, which, in turn, clearly differs from the customary use of Swedish (cf. Humble 1654; Illustration 16).

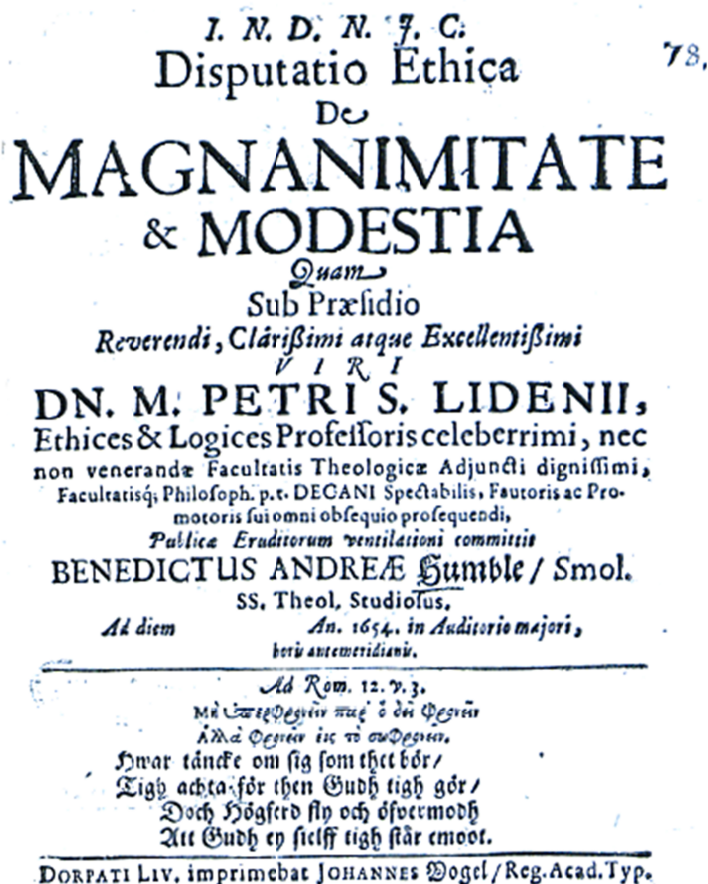


Illustration 16. An example of a Swedish poem written on a title-page of a disputation from 1654 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1654:22)

Other minority vernaculars were used rather scarcely in just a few passages. Low German is used the most – in 7 segments as quotations from Balthasar Russow’s *Livonian Chronicle*. Out of those excerpts only two are provided with direct references to the original author and thus also to his treatise. For example (cf. Risingh 1637).

/.../ *Inquit enim D[omi]n[us]* Balthasar Russow *in Chronicis* *Pag[ina] 1. In Odenpe edder Stiff Derpte/ ligt die Stadt und dat Schlot Derpte/ quasi diceret, in Odenpe, aut Episcopatu Dorpatensi, jacet urbs & Arx Dorpatensis./.../*

Rather interestingly, here the name of the author – Balthasar Russow – has not been Latinized, but the subsequent title of the book – *chronicon* – is.

Dutch is used in just one segment. Its author refers to the use of a vernacular using the word *Batavi* which, according to Hans Helander (2004: 242–243), at this time (i.e. during 17th century) meant a Dutchman, and hence provides a well reasoned argument to assume that the following passage would be written in Dutch. The passage used there is a paraphrased commentary from the New Testament (the 26th verse of the 8th letter of Paul the Apostle) (cf. Elvering 1653) (cf. Illustration 17):

/.../ *Similiter Batavi in annotationibus ad Biblia sua: het betteck int hier/ dat de H[eiligen]. Geest ons tot bidden mit onuytspreckelick suchten verweckt/ ende ons als voorspelt onse lesse/ hoc my in alle swarigheden moeten bidden./.../*

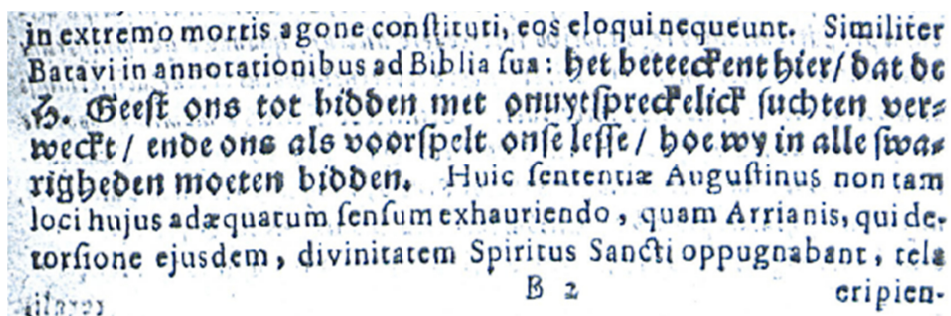


Illustration 17. An example of the use of a Dutch interpolation in a dissertation by Daniel Oeslovius, 1653 (MRBD. R Acad. Dorp. 1653:11)

As with the other minority languages, Finnish, for example, is used as an unlatinized vernacular-written toponym which is followed with a longer etymological explanation in Latin; in other words, /.../ *Ad Boream continet paludes quasdam ferri, dictas **Rautalambi*** (sic! today Rautalampi)/.../ (cf. Georgii 1650).

Similarly, Estonian is used for a toponym that is interwoven with Low German (cf. Risingh 1637). (cf. Illustration 12):

/.../ *diciturque lingua Esthonica **Carieporth** quasi Porta pecudum, eo quod pleraque pecore per eam passum agantur /.../*

There are just a few examples of mixing two vernaculars – German and Swedish – with one another. Both of the following examples represent terminology and phraseological expressions (given in table 7 characteristic 3 above).

In those cases vernaculars are mostly used in parallel and are referred to with some formulaic phrases. For example (cf. Brehmer 1647),

*/.../ Suecis, **klaar Lufft**, Germanis **Die Lufft oder die Weite zwischen Himmel und der Erden** /.../*

As the previous sub-section shows, German and Swedish are the most multi-functional type of text comprising vernaculars during the AG period, providing vernacular passages for a number of different topics. Minority vernaculars, on the other hand, enable just one topic, and in most cases only toponyms and terminology is covered with those languages.

The AGC period, as seen before, is more moderate in providing different text types for vernacular interpolations. However, it provides the only examples of medical dissertations in which multilingual practices were used as trilingual vernacular-interpolations.

For example (cf. Braun 1709) (cf. Illustration 18):

*/.../ Inter reliquos vero, quibus saepius affligitur, haud postremus est ejus, quam de hic agetur, **Palpitatio**, Gr[aece]. τῆς καρδίας παλμός (ἀπὸ τῆς πάλλουμαι vel πάλλειν, **agitare**, **contremiscere**) **Batement de Coeur** Gall[ice] **das Hertzklopfen** Germ[anice] **Hiertklapning** Svet[ice] dicta. /.../*

necesse habet Cor affectibus. Inter reliquos verò, quibus saepius affligitur, haud postremus est ejus, quā de hic agetur, **Palpitatio, Gr. τῆς καρδίας παλμός (ἀπὸ τῆς πάλλουμαι vel πάλλειν, **agitare**, **contremiscere**) **Batement de Coeur** Gall. **das Hertzklopfen** Germ. **Hiertklapning** Svet. dicta. Cujus Etymologiae ratio, secundum *Galen. 2. M. M. 2. ἀλμπτωματὶς & partis affectus natura desumpta est. Ac-***

Illustration 18. An example of a trilingual vernacular interpolation in a medical dissertation by Laurentius Braun from 1709 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1709:19)

When creating a thematic-formal typology of all of the vernacular segments, quite specifically clear text types occurred in both the AG and AGC imprints in which Classical languages (such as Old Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean and Latin) turned out to be rather insufficient, whereupon a number of different vernacular interpolations (in German, Swedish, French, Low German, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish as well as in a number of their combinations) were preferred.

In each example, except for the poems, intrasentential code-switching occurs. Alternations are mostly used, and all of the vernacular interpolations (ELs) are embedded into a Latin matrix.

4.4. Conclusion

Despite the fact that the sub-groups of instructional and scientific academic texts comprise only about one-quarter (i.e. 22%) of the overall academic heritage from the *Academia Dorpatensis*, those texts still provide a range of diverse study material for analysing monolingual as well as multilingual practices. In fact, this material is by far the most multifaceted study material for linguistic analysis in this thesis. In particular, out of five sub-groups in this chapter's data, only one – catalogues of lectures – were exclusively monolingual, and therefore, academic occasional poetry, style exercises, textbooks as well as disputations, dissertations and orations – comprised multilingual practices to some extent. Yet, the practices used in these varied within different text types to a rather large extent.

The corpus of instructional and scientific academic texts in which multilingual practices are used does not comprise only bilingual texts, but occasionally even tri- as well as quadrilingual texts. Most prone to using more than two languages within a text-unit are academic dissertations, disputations and orations as well as the multilingual textbook analysed here, in which a number of different combinations and variations of Latin and either two or more vernaculars (mostly German and Swedish) are used.

In the majority of the chapter's texts with multilingual practices, Latin is considered the matrix language and vernaculars are usually used as different interpolations and thus behave as the embedded language. Yet, this practice still differs in various text types. For instance, in printed texts, such as in dissertations, disputations, orations, and occasional poems, Latin is used as the matrix and vernaculars as the embedded language. In manuscripts, such as student style exercises, however, the linguistic situation is quite the contrary – a vernacular is considered the matrix language and Latin interpolations as the embedded language. Regardless of the choice of the matrix and the embedded language, all the embedded language interpolations in the printed as well as handwritten texts of different sub-genres are visually distinguishable due to the different fonts used for marking vernaculars (gothic in manuscripts, fracture in imprints) or Latin (antiqua).

In the analysed instructional and scientific academic texts, the most commonly used multilingual practice is intrasentential code-switching, which occurs in all but one sub-genre of the multilingual text-units of this chapter and mostly in texts written in prose. In addition, there are just a few examples in which intersentential code-switching is used – in the analysed occasional poems, on the title pages of both the textbook analysed here as well as in a single disputation from the AG period (that also contains a poem on its title page). In the occasional poem as well as in the disputation, such a practice is the outcome of using different languages with different metres – either accented-syllabic, or quantitative.

In most of the multilingual text-units, formulaic linguistic performance is of prevalence. Predominantly the switches are rather short – a couple of words

long as insertions or alternations on a scheme of A–B–A. Congruent lexicalization, however, is used rather marginally.

The majority of all of the switches within different text types occur in the main text part, and there are just a few examples of switches that take place in the paratext. For example, in dissertations, disputations and orations, there are some texts in which code-switching takes place either on the title page or in the *corollaria* part – both are considered as paratext. Similarly, the code-switching is used on the title page of the textbook, and in the closing remarks of both the style exercise as well as in some of the multilingual occasional poems.

The density of using the code-switching varies in the instructional and scientific academic texts remarkably. As in the multilingual style exercises and most of the dissertations, disputations and orations, just some words or longer segments are switched in a couple of places within the entire text-units, and in the occasional poems, the code-switching occurs usually just once. The analysed textbook, on the other hand, can be considered within the overall corpus of the present thesis as the academic text-unit with the highest density of code-switching occurring on almost every page and at least a couple of times.

Unlike all the other sub-groups of the entire corpus of the thesis, academic dissertations, disputations and orations present a rather unique example of multilingual practices. They are in fact the only sub-genre in which most of the switches from Latin to a vernacular are explicitly referred to – they incorporate a number of different introductory formulas to the subsequent linguistic performance before the words or segments written in a vernacular.

5. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN CEREMONIAL AND FESTIVE TEXTS FROM THE *ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS*

5.1. Overview of mono- and multilingual ceremonial and festive text corpus

This chapter comprises all of the ceremonial and festive academic text-units compiled during the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* either as utterly monolingual or multilingual text-units compiled unexceptionally by the professors. In fact, this chapter is the only one within this thesis that comprises exclusively of printed text-units. The ceremonial and festive academic texts are addressed either to the 17th century academe, scholars, or to the wider or local community on a number of different public or private matters. In this chapter the keywords “ceremonial” as well as “festive”¹⁸¹ are used parallelly due to the character of the corpus texts which is rather multifaceted, and therefore the text-units can be divided into the following six groups, of which some comprise also additional sub-groups:

- (1) Descriptions (*relationes*) of *Actus inauguralis*¹⁸² (extant from both the AG and the AGC period);

¹⁸¹ In the title of the present chapter two words – ceremonial and festive – are put together, as they comprise the objectives of the texts in every sub-group within this chapter. According to the Cambridge English Dictionary the term “ceremonial” is explained as “(a set of) formal acts, often fixed and traditional, performed on important social or religious occasions” and the term “festive” as “having or producing happy and enjoyable feelings suitable for a festival or other special occasions”. The first term is more official and thus in terms of definition comprises all the stricter documents within this chapter’s data. However, as this chapter’s corpus also incorporates a number of occasional poems written foremost for festive occasions, such as weddings or for glorifications, the latter term is also applicable to the following study. In terms of function, the text-units comprising this chapter are representative or memorial, only programmes and invitations have a mainly informative purpose.

¹⁸² The term *relatio* was often used in the early modern time for descriptions and detailed overviews about different events, here about the *actus inauguralis* or inauguration ceremony. From the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* two such documents are extant – one from 1632 written as a multilingual *relatio* describing the opening ceremony of the *Academia Gustaviana*, and the other from 1699 dedicated to the opening of the Academy in Pernau (as the second period of the AGC after the University was located in Dorpat for 9 years, i.e. from 1690–1699, as AGCD). There are six printed copies of the description published in 1632 that are kept in different libraries and archives including the MRBD (cf. Jaanson 2000: 176). The second *relatio*, on the other hand, was printed as late as in 1706 – seven years after the actual ceremony. The original imprints of the document are kept in the Uppsala University Library in the collection of Palmskiöld 481, 165–172, and in the MRBD in fond R Est A-12790 (cf. *Ibidem* 413).

¹⁸² An inauguration speech is a type of oration held by the professor after he was inaugurated to his position. From the 17th century *Academia Dorpatensis* there is in fact only a single imprint of such text-units extant – from the first decade of the AG, 1636. The original is kept in the

- (2) Inaugural speech¹⁸³ (extant from the AG period);
- (3) Programmes, invitations and proclamations¹⁸⁴ (extant from the AG and the AGC period),
 - a) proclamations to promotions,
 - b) invitations to funerals,
 - c) proclamations to public lectures and orations;
- (4) Ceremonial orations¹⁸⁵ (extant from both the AG and the AGC period),
 - a) salutatory orations,
 - b) funeral orations,
- (5) Sermons¹⁸⁶ (from both the AG and the AGC period);
- (6) Occasional poems¹⁸⁷ (from both the AG and the AGC period)

Swedish National Library in Stockholm, and photocopy in the MRBD in fond R Acad. Dorp. 1636:1.

¹⁸³ An inauguration speech is a type of oration held by the professor after he was inaugurated to his position. From the 17th century *Academia Dorpatensis* there is in fact only a single imprint of such-like text-units extant – from the first decade of the AG, 1636. The original of it is kept in the Swedish National Library in Stockholm, and photocopy in MRBD in fond R Acad. Dorp. 1636:1

¹⁸⁴ The sub-group of programmes, invitations and proclamations is a denominator for all of the texts comprising the information about the forecoming events of the Academy. The word “proclamation”, often used in the early modern prints from Dorpat, is a derivation from the Latin word “proclama” that is a denominator for public announcement. The word is taken to modern English from Middle English via French that in turn originated from the Latin word “proclamatō” (“proclamare”) (according to OED). The present group incorporates a number of different types of proclamations that are for promotions (for an academic degree), funerals, public orations. The original prints are kept in many archives and libraries in Sweden, Estonia, Latvia and Germany, photocopies of them are kept in the MRBD in fond R Acad. Dorp.

¹⁸⁵ The sub-group of ceremonial orations incorporates all the text-units written and held predominantly due to some representative reasons, either as salutations to the arriving resp. leaving dignitaries or as funeral resp. commemorative orations dedicated to the Academy-related persons. Such text-units are kept either in the MRBD or in many other libraries and archives in Europe.

¹⁸⁶ The total number of all of the sermons printed in the print shop of *Academia Dorpatensis* is 20. However, only three of them are related closely to the Academy and its members. The rest of 17 are, in fact, for some reason printed in the University’s print shop, but are not related to the Academy or its academe. Some sermons from Riga or Reval are also printed there, even though they did have print shops of their own as well. As this chapter’s data as well as the thesis as a whole comprises the material closely connected to the 17th century *Academia Dorpatensis*, only the mentioned three sermons have been included with the subsequent statistical information as well as more detailed studies. They are kept either in the libraries and archives in Estonia, Riga or in Stockholm. The imprints kept in the MRBD are kept in fond R. Acad. Dorp. 1632:15, 1655:16, 1701:13, respectively.

¹⁸⁷ Despite the fact that some sub-genres of occasional poems written for different academic events (such as gratulations for either defending a thesis, dedications and *propemptica*) were analysed already in chapter 4.3.1., the poems collected for this chapter are primarily related to affairs outside of academic instruction in the Academy and concerning its members. All of the poems, written for weddings (*epithalamia*), births and birthdays (*genethliaca*), deaths and funerals (*epitaphia*, *epicedia*, *consolationes*, *tumuli*) or as a longer glorifications to rectors on their inaugurations or to other scholars and eminent persons (*encomia*, that in the

- a) *epicedia*,
- b) *encomia*,
- c) *epithalamia*,
- d) *genethliaca*.

Amongst all of the six sub-groups there are in fact three – descriptions of *actus inauguralis*, sermons and occasional poems – that comprise also examples with multilingual practices. All of them will thus be analysed in more depth in sub-chapter 5.3., in which two of them, a sermon from 1632 and an occasional poem from 1643 will be discussed under case studies. However, before doing so, the descriptive as well as the statistical overview of this chapter's data has to be given. Since three sub-groups out of six are exclusively monolingual, and altogether four of six also comprise text-units which are monolingual, they will also be discussed thoroughly under separate sub-chapters (i.e. in 5.2 onwards).

The corpus comprising all of the extant ceremonial and festive academic text-units is the only one within the entire thesis in which there is not a single example of manuscripts, but instead all of the text-units are imprints. The total number of all of the text-units is 1,135, which out of the corpus of the whole thesis (i.e. from 7,831 text-units) comprises about 14%. A slightly smaller portion of them – 480 or about 42% – are extant from the AG period, and a larger portion – 655 text-units or 58% – from the AGC period. The total number of monolingual text-units is 1,070 or about 94% of this chapter's corpus – 585 text-units or 52% – are extant from the AG period and the remaining 550 or nearly 48%, from the AGC period. There are 65 multilingual text-units that constitutes just about 6% of the corpus of ceremonial and festive text-units: 53 or about 82% from the AG and the remaining 12 or 18% from the AGC period.

In order to comprehend the proportions of every sub-group of text-units better, the average number of words and their overall length per pages will be given. First, the largest sub-group constitutes the **occasional poems** with 1,016 text-units, which is about 89.5% of the whole corpus of this chapter's academic data. The majority of them – 585 or 58% – are extant from the AG, and 431 or about 42% from the AGC period. As this group also comprises different sub-groups; that is, different genres of occasional poems, they also differ in terms of length. However on average the poems are about 10–25 verses long. Since the average number of words per verse is six, each of them comprises from 60 up to 150 words. However, there are also both slightly shorter as well as longer poems amongst them all. Yet, the whole corpus of these occasional poems incorporates at least 60,960 words.

The second group are the **programmes, invitations and proclamations** with 72 text-units or 6.5% of this chapter's corpus. Unlike the corpus of occasional poems, in which the majority of the text-units are extant from the

present chapter also incorporates a few *panegyrica*, that are longer glorification poems), are also distinguished with and subdivided into separate groups. Similar to the material in other sub-groups, occasional poems are also kept in many libraries and archives in Sweden and in Riga, while the collections of the MRBD consist predominantly of photocopies.

AG period, here the vast majority of 62 text-units or 86% are preserved from the AGC and only 10 or 14% from the AG period. These texts are about 120 words long so that the whole corpus of programmes and proclamations covers nearly 8,640 words. The format of these writings is different from sub-group to sub-group – proclamations to promotions are of octavo, to funerals of quarto and to public lectures and orations of folio size. Consequently, the overall length of the text-units also differs – while invitations to promotions and funerals are about eight pages long so that each page covers about 100 words, invitations to lectures and orations cover predominantly one page which contains about 260 words. Therefore, the former altogether comprise about 15,200, and the latter sub-group text-units about 13,780 words.

The third group comprises **ceremonial orations** with 41 text-units or 3.5%. The greater number of all of these text-units are extant from the AG period, 36 or 88% and five or about 12% from the AGC period. In contradiction to the two previously described sub-groups, the academic ceremonial orations are considerably longer with an average of 26 pages per text-unit, and each of them are of quarto format. On each page there are nearly 170 words and thus per text-unit about 4,420 and together approximately 181,220 words.

The fourth group comprises **sermons** – three text-units that constitute about 0.2% of the whole corpus of the present chapter's data, each of which are of quarto format. Two of them are extant from the AG and a single one from the AGC period. All of them are of quarto format. In terms of their length the sermons are one of the lengthiest – with an average of nearly 61 pages so that each page covers approximately 170 words, a single text-unit thus contains about 10,370 and together 31,110 words. Therefore, this sub-group, which only contains three text-units, is proportionally more voluminous than, for example, academic programmes and proclamations, the total of which exceeds this sub-group by exactly 24 times.

The fifth group comprises two text-units – **descriptions of *actus inauguralis***, which constitute just about 0.2% of the whole corpus of this chapter. However, despite the fact that there are just two texts of this type from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* – one from the AG and the other from the AGC period – it does not necessarily mean that they are also the shortest in terms of their length. As both of them are of quarto format, the one from the AG period comprises altogether 27 pages with an average of 240 words per page, and thus the whole text contains about 6,480 words. The second text is considerably longer with 51 pages each containing nearly 250 words, and the whole text-unit thus about 12,750 words. Altogether they comprise 19,230 words.

The sixth and final group comprises a single **inaugural speech** that comprises just 0.1% of the overall corpus of the present thesis. It is of quarto format and consists altogether of 17 pages and each page contains about 155 words, and thus the whole speech is 2,635 words.

All of the previously described sub-groups will each be studied under the following sub-chapters.

5.2. Monolingual ceremonial and festive texts

The majority of the text-units in the present chapter are monolingual – 1,070 text-units, which is about 94% of all of the text-units in the present chapter's corpus, 583 were written during the AG and 487 during the AGC period. The monolingual text-units extant from the AG period are exclusively written in Latin with not a single example of some other Classical language nor vernaculars.

However, the sub-group of monolingual ceremonial and festive text-units preserved from the AGC period, provides a range of other languages but Latin as well. Despite the fact that the majority of the text-units are written in Latin (550), a number of vernaculars are also used. German is used in 168 text-units, followed by Swedish in 156. In addition, Greek is used in 28 text-units, Hebrew in three, Italian twice, and the minority vernaculars, such as French, Spanish, Estonian and Russian are all used equally within a single text-unit.

In order to comprehend the given proportions better, in the following subsection the distribution of monolingual text-units will be given.

5.2.1. Monolingual inaugural speech

The only extant inaugural speech from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* is in fact monolingual – written exclusively in Latin. It was written by the professor of Rhetoric and Poetics of the *Academia Gustaviana*, Laurentius Ludenius on 11 January 1636. The fact that it is the only inaugural speech provided as a printed text from the 17th century *Academy* is rather remarkable, as, for instance, there were a number of invitations (all in all five) to the inaugural speeches as well as promotions from the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* period. However, in the neighboring academic gymnasia, in Reval and Riga, the existence of printed versions of inaugural speeches is, as in the *Academia Dorpatensis*, rather scant (cf. Viiding 2013).¹⁸⁸

The structure of the present versified speech written in 959 hexameters, is bipartite – it consists of an introductory part provided with a title page and its verso with dedications to the high dignitaries of Sweden, incl. allocutions to the king of Sweden, all in prose, followed by the lengthiest part – the versified content.

¹⁸⁸ See more about the inaugural speeches of *Academia Dorpatensis*, but especially about the first inaugural speech of *Academia Gusavaiana* in the inaugural speech of Kristi Viiding from 2013 *Millal peeti ja millest räägib Tartu Ülikooli esimene inauguratsiooniloeng?* [See the link: <http://www.utv.ee/naita?id=17072>, accessed 10 June 2017].

5.2.2. Monolingual programmes, invitations and proclamations

This sub-group of academic ceremonial and festive texts, which is also the second largest in this chapter, is utterly monolingual, consisting of 72 Latin text-units. The group is provided with a tripartite subdivision – proclamations either to promotions, funerals as well as public lectures and orations. The biggest sub-group out of the three is in fact the last one – proclamations to public lectures and orations – comprising 53 text-units or about 74% of all of this type of texts. Three of them are extant from the AG period and the majority of 50 are from the AGC period. As the aim of those text-units is primarily to be informative, they comprise a single leaf of a larger format page.

The structure of the programmes, invitations and proclamations is tripartite consisting of visually discernable parts – introduction with the title of the event, content which explained the event, and lastly the closing part provided with information about the author of the proclamation.

The second group comprises proclamations to promotions, with a total of 11 text-units all of which, as with the previous text type, are written exclusively in Latin. Seven of them were written during the AGC and four during the AG period. However, they are rather longer – eight pages on average written on octavo sized pages.

The last group with eight specimens are different invitations to funerals of well-known people related to the Academy (professors, scholars etc). Three of them are extant from the AG and five from the AGC period. Similar to the promotion proclamations they comprise eight pages on average, but in contrast are of quarto format, and so are slightly longer than the previous types.

5.2.3. Monolingual ceremonial orations

Academic ceremonial orations constitute the third largest sub-group within this chapter's data, with 41 text-units, and like the previous groups are utterly monolingual written and held in Latin. There are in fact two types of orations – salutatory and funeral orations. However, the larger group is in fact the funeral orations with 24 text-units that constitute nearly 59% of all of the ceremonial orations. The majority of 23 of them (96%) are extant from the AG and a single one from the AGC period. The total number of extant salutatory orations, on the other hand, is 17 or 41% – the greater number of 13 are preserved from the AG and four text-units from the AGC period.

In terms of their structure, all of them are tripartite comprising an introductory part that is in fact the title page that provides the name of the oration, provided with a number of allocutions to the addressee as well as the date and time it was printed. That is followed by the content part, which is the most compendious, being about 24 pages in length. The last part is the closing part, which is provided with the name of the addressee, data about where and when it was written with the name of the author. Occasionally, these orations were also provided with occasional poems dedicated and written either as *encomia* in case

they were written at the end of salutatory orations, or as *epicedia* at the end of funeral orations.

Out of those 24 funeral orations, 17 or 71% are in fact dedicated to the commemoration of the Swedish King and the founder of the *Academia Dorpatensis*, Gustavus II Adolphus, and seven to other persons connected to the Academy.

5.2.4. Monolingual occasional poems

The sub-group of monolingual occasional poems is by far the most compendious comprising 796 text-units out of which 439 are extant from the AG and the remaining 357 from the AGC period. The majority of them – 584 or about 73% – are written in Latin, 439 during the AG and 145 the AGC period. As the sub-group of occasional poems comprises four types of academic poems, the following data will be provided as a table (Table 8). In the following four divisions the full name of the poetic genres is given in plural form; for example, (*carmina*) *epicedia* (*epicedium* in singular, funeral poems), *encomia* (*encomion*, glorification poems), (*carmina*) *epithalamica* (*epithalamium*, wedding poems) and (*carmina*) *genethliaca* (*genethliacon*, poems dedicated to a birth). Each of them is also provided with an abbreviation indicating the language; for example, *Epicedia-LA* means the *epicedia* was exclusively written in Latin. The middle and right-hand columns indicate how many of each poem type are extant from the *Academia Gustaviana* and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, respectively.

During the AG period out of all of the occasional poems written in Latin, the majority were *epicedia* – 286 single poems. The second most extant genre was the *epithalamia* (wedding poems) with 143 cases, *encomia* were written for seven occasions and *genethliaca* for two. However, during the AGC period the most preferred sub-genre were *encomia* in 105 times, followed by *epicedia* with 26 examples, *epithalamia* with 14 poems and *genethliaca* was written once.

The linguistic performance from the AG and the AGC period differs significantly. Besides using Latin in the majority of the representative occasional poems, a number of different vernaculars were also used during both the AG and AGC period. The most multifaceted sub-genre was the *encomia*, which besides Latin also used Greek and Hebrew, as well as five different vernaculars. In fact, Swedish was the most popular vernacular used with 119 poems (one from the AG and 118 from the AGC period). German was preferred in 65 poems (18 from the AG and 47 from the AGC period). French, Italian and Russian were all used once within an *encomium*.

Table 8. Linguistic performance of monolingual occasional poems written during the *Academia Gustaviana* and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* period

Subgenres of a poem	Academia Gustaviana	Academia Gustavo-Carolina
<i>Epicedia LA</i>	286	26
<i>Epicedia DE</i>	22	51
<i>Epicedia SE</i>	17	18
<i>Epicedia GR</i>	17	3
<i>Epicedia HBR</i>	2	-
<i>Epicedia IT</i>	-	1
<i>Epicedia ES</i>	-	1
<i>Encomia LA</i>	7	105
<i>Encomia SE</i>	1	118
<i>Encomia DE</i>	18	47
<i>Encomia GR</i>	8	-
<i>Encomia HBR</i>	-	1
<i>Encomia FR</i>	-	1
<i>Encomia RU</i>	1	-
<i>Encomia IT</i>	-	1
<i>Epithalamia LA</i>	143	14
<i>Epithalamia DE</i>	8	21
<i>Epithalamia SE</i>	4	8
<i>Genethliaca LA</i>	2	1
<i>Genethliaca DE</i>	-	1
<i>Genethliaca SE</i>	-	2

Epicedia as the second most popular sub-genre of occasional poems, similar to *encomia*, showed a variety of vernaculars as well – German was the most popular with 73 poems (22 from the AG, and more than twice as many at 51 from the AGC period). Minority vernaculars such as Italian and Spanish were both used once within an AGC period poem. Therefore, *encomia* and *epicedia* represent sub-genres that were the most open to other languages in addition to learned languages.

Epithalamia and *genethliaca*, on the other hand, represent the sub-genres of occasional poems which showed the least openness to other vernacular languages. The majority of all of the *epithalamia* – 157 – are written in Latin (143 during the AG and 17 during the AGC period), and 29 and 12 were written in German and Swedish, respectively.

When trying to distinguish between the structures of the different poems, the outcome of the preferences is actually rather similar. About 80% of all of the poems from the AG and AGC are in fact predominantly bipartite – consisting of the content part (the poem) and the closing part in which basic information about the author is given. The remaining 20% can be divided between poems with tripartite structure (roughly 16%) and some (4%) that comprise only the content part. However, the poems that are tripartite, besides the content and the closing part also contain an introductory part that might be either just a short title of the poem (occasionally even its genre) or a longer allocution to the person the poem is dedicated to.

The length of the occasional poems depends mostly on their aim as well as genre. *Epicedia* vary in length from 6 up to 150 verses, while *encomia*, for instance might be even longer than 250 verses. However, the majority of the (both mono- as well as multilingual) poems remained between 10–35 verses in length.

Rather remarkably each sub-genre that contains besides the learned languages (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) also a variety of other – majority (i.e. German and Swedish) as well as minority vernaculars, clearly show the genres openness to vernaculars in the Academy's external communication as well.

5.3. Multilingual ceremonial and festive text-units

Amongst all of the six text groups within the chapter of ceremonial and festive academic texts, three also contain examples with multilingual practices – occasional poetry, descriptions (*relationes*) of *Actus inauguralis* and sermons. The last two text groups are, in fact, utterly multilingual with not a single example of a text-unit that is exclusively monolingual.

The total number of all of the extant multilingual ceremonial and festive texts is 43 or 4.5% from the whole corpus of the present chapter. The greater number of them – 33 or about 77% – are extant from the AG and 10 or 23% from the AGC period.

All of the three sub-groups will subsequently be studied, and sub-chapters 5.3.2. and 5.3.3. (sermons and occasional poetry, respectively) are also provided with case studies.

5.3.1. Multilingual descriptions of *Actus inauguralis*

The corpus of descriptions of *actus inauguralis* comprises two text-units, both of them – a single text-unit from AG as well as a single one preserved from the AGCP period – represent multilingual practices at least to some extent. The first description is written about the opening ceremony of the *Academia Gustaviana* in 15 October 1632 by the first professor of History and Antiquities in the AG, Friedrich Menius. It was written in a German matrix with a number of Latin interpolations. The second *relatio*, on the other hand, is written in order to emphasize the importance of moving the Academy from the early modern

Dorpat to Pernau. It is dated to 28 August 1699 and is written almost exclusively in Latin with just a single French-interpolation – *haut-bois* (oboe) – which is also provided with a rather formulaic introductory phrase – *quae Gallice dicuntur* (that in French is called).¹⁸⁹ The practice of introductory comments about the language used occurs only within academic dissertations, disputations and orations in order to emphasize the forthcoming switch from one language to another (predominantly from the matrix language to the embedded language) so that it would be understood to the audience. However, as this text is not provided with a signature or any other indications as to its author, one can only assume that as the professor of history of the AGC, Sueno Cameen proposed in one of the Consistory sessions held on 20 October 1699 that this description should also be printed, he can thus also be considered as the initiator of this process of having this text printed (cf. Viiding 1999: 74).¹⁹⁰

Both of the descriptions which are in quarto format, were published as independent volumes some years after the actual events, resp. 1635 and 1706 (cf. Jaanson 2000: 176; Viiding 1999: 74).¹⁹¹ In terms of their structure, they are bipartite consisting of an introductory part with a decorated front cover provided with the title and the exact date when the inauguration took place, and the following title page that incorporates the name of the writing, as well as place it was printed. The *relatio* by Menius also includes a foreword over 2 pages long dedicated to the readers. The overall length of his description is 28 quarto sized pages each covering about 205 words per page, and thus the whole *relatio* has about 5,740 words.

The description from 1699 is 22 pages longer than the first one – its content part is altogether 50 pages, with an average of 92 words per page. Therefore, the overall length of the second description is about 4,600 words and is shorter than the first one.¹⁹²

The summarizing description of the ceremony was also published a week later in a newspaper *Rigische Novellen* covering four pages. It was written predominantly in German with a number of Latin interpolations; therefore,

¹⁸⁹ New editions from both of the descriptions provided also with translations into Estonian as well as a thorough commentary have been published: 1) about the *relatio* from 1632: K. Sak 1997 *Jutustus Tartu Ülikooli inauguratsioonist, mis toimus 15. oktoobril 1632*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus; 2) and the one from 1699: K. Viiding 1999. *Academia Gustavo-Carolina inauguratsiooniaktus*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

¹⁹⁰ The mentioned Consistory protocols is kept in the MRBD in fond 7, vol. 27 entitled as *Tartu Ülikooli (Academia Gustavo-Carolina) senati protokollid [Pärnu], 11. jaan. 1699–11. dets. 1706*.

¹⁹¹ More about Menius' description and when it was published in chapter 1.2.1, footnote 59.

¹⁹² In fact, within the same imprint with the description of *actus inauguralis* held in Pernau in 1699 there are also two additional text-units – a festive oration given by the Third Theologian Gabriel Skragge, and an oration held in hexameters by the professor of Logic and Physics, Daniel Sarcovius one day after the inauguration as a part of the festivities (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 122–125, Viiding 2003: 187–199; Helander 2004: *passim*; chapter 5.2.3). Despite the fact that the pagination in this volume is continuous for all three text-units, this imprint is counted as comprising three separate academic text-units in the present thesis.

following the same linguistic patterns as the *relatio* of the inauguration ceremony written by Menius in 1635 (cf. ch. 1.2.1.).¹⁹³

Therefore, the two descriptions of *actus inauguralis* extant from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* can be considered rather contradictory examples of multilingual practices – the *relatio* from 1632 demonstrates the practice of the usage of a vernacular (German) mixed occasionally with Latin interpolations, when, on the other hand, the description from the 1699 is written almost exclusively in Latin with a single example of a vernacular (French) interpolation.

5.3.2. Multilingual sermons

5.3.2.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual sermons

The corpus of multilingual academic sermons is one of the smallest comprising just three text-units – two of which are extant from the AG (written in 1632 and 1655, respectively) and the third one from the AGC period (1701). All of them can be considered multilingual, which besides the vernacular matrix contain also a number of Latin interpolations. All of them will briefly be commented on in the following, and in greater detail in a case study of the sermon from 1632 (in sub-chapter 5.3.2.2.)

All of the sermons are of quarto format, but vary in length. The first sermon which is entitled – *Eine Christliche Predigt vber den Sieben vnd Achtzigsten Psalm Davids. Von Herligkeit, Zierde, vnd Seligkeit der Cristlichen Kirchen, vnd sonderlich der Hohen Schulen. GÖtthe zun[1] Ehren in Reval den 1. Novemb. als am 15. Tage des vorhergehenden Monats...Gustavus Adolphus der Schweden etc König,... die Hohe Schule zu Dorpat hatte einführen lasen. Gehalten, vnd publiciret Durch...Lvdovicvm Dvnte Predigern Göttliches Worts daselbst an S. Olai Kirchen.* – was held on 1 November 1632 by Ludwig Dunte, a minister of St Olai (Oleviste) church as well as school inspector in Reval (Tallinn). It comprises 58 pages each with about 192 words, and thus the sermon as a whole is about 11,214 words, written in a German matrix language with Latin as the embedded language.¹⁹⁴

The second one – *Een kort of eenfaldigh Boot-Predijakn, Hållen i Dorpt Anno 1655. den 25. Maji, på den förste stoore allmenne Solenne Fast- och Böönendagen, uthi Afftonsången aff Elao Nicolai Tollenio, Gudz Ordz Tienare dhär sammestådes wijdh Mariae Kyrckio.* – held on 25 May 1655 was written by Elaus Tollenius (Tellerus), viceminister of Saint Maria's congregation and

¹⁹³ This original version of the sermon is kept in Uppsala University Library in fond Palmskiöld 481, vol. 173–174.

¹⁹⁴ It has to mentioned here, that the webpage Estonian National Bibliography, which also comprises information about L. Dunte's sermon, claims that the content of it is in Latin (<http://erb.nlib.ee/?kid=20584180>), when in reality the overall proportion of Latin is not very high due which the text is predominantly written in German instead.

rector of a school in Dorpat (1652–1656), and was printed presumably in 1655 as a penitential sermon (cf. Tering 1984: 245). This sermon is the shortest (which is also suggested in its title – *kort*, i.e. short) with 28 pages each with approximately 180 words, and thus the whole text is about 5,040 words. Despite the fact that its title page provides a lot of examples of CS, the sermon as a whole is written in Swedish matrix with just a few examples of Latin interpolations (for Bible quotations given in antiqua) within the text.

The third example entitled – *Den geholffenen Helffer, Als nemlich Der ... König und Herr Carolus XII. Der Schweden, Gothen und Den Wenden Erb-König etc. etc. Zum Entsatz der Stadt Narva und Schutz seiner ... Unterthanen in Lieff-, Ehst- und Ingerman-Landt ... einen ... Sieg in der Reussen ver-trenchementirten Lager von Narva A. 1700. den 20. Novemb. ... erfochten, hat Am angeordneten Danck Fest A. 1701. d. 5. Febr. Nach Anleitung des XXI. Psalms in einer Christlichen Rede ... gezeiget ... Joh. Georg. Philippi* – is the only one extant (or ever written) from the AGC period, held on 5 February 1701 by Johann Georg Philippi, in a German matrix with a few examples of Latin interpolations within a thanksgiving sermon dedicated to the Swedish King, Charles XII, which is also why it is lengthy. This sermon is the longest in terms of both pages – 104 – and the overall amount of words per text-unit – 18,720 words (per page there are approximately 180 words). As all of the three sermons are different in terms of their objectives – held either for the opening of the *Academy* as an inaugural sermon, as a short penitential sermon or as a thanksgiving and praising sermon, they all vary considerably in length.

In terms of structure, all of the sermons are bipartite consisting of a decorated title page with information about the name of the sermon, whom it was dedicated to as well as the author of the sermon, time and place of holding it, and occasionally also the presumable time and place it was printed. Also after the title page, two to five pages of dedications were added to the sermons. The second part which is also the longest is the content. In each sermon, however, a vernacular is used as the matrix language and Latin for some interpolations.

5.3.2.2. Case study: an inaugural sermon from 1632 written by Ludwig Dunte as an example of a multilingual programme for the Academy

The sermon analysed here is the most multifaceted out of the three multilingual sermons from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* due to the fact that it comprises the most examples of code-switching amongst such writings. It was held on the 1 November 1632, just two weeks after the AG was opened on 15 October 1632, by the minister of the St. Olai church and school inspector in Reval Ludwig Dunte,¹⁹⁵ and published in Dorpat already in November 1632.¹⁹⁶ In fact,

¹⁹⁵ Ludwig Dunte (25.11.1597 – 2.(11.)12.1639) was one of the most educated parsons being studied in a number of different universities all over Europe – in Lübeck, Gießen, Straßburg, Tübingen, Jena, Wittenberg, Hamburg, Oxford under the supervision of the most influential theologians of his time. He was also fluent in a number of different languages (i.e.

as Dunte also attended the inaugural ceremony of the *Academia Gustaviana* as a representative of the Consistory of Reval (cf. Sak 1997b: 34–35), his following sermon is in fact his reflection on this ceremony to the congregation of Reval. In its content it praises the Christian churches and schools, especially the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* as well as the King of Sweden, Gustav II Adolph as the founder of the Academy, using the 87th Psalm.¹⁹⁷ (cf. Illustration 19).



Illustration 19. The title page of Ludvig Dunte’s inaugural sermon from 1 November 1632 (ÜAM 197:105)

besides German and Latin, also in French, English (just to mention a few)) which he also used in writing his numerous treatises, tractates, sermons, occasional poetry, being thus an extremely productive literate in the region (cf. Klöker 2014: 172–180).

¹⁹⁶ Since the dedication of Dunte’s sermon was signed on 6 November 1632, the King of Sweden, Gustavus II Adolphus is in the dedicatory part still referred to as being alive, despite the fact that on the very same day he died in the Battle of Lützen – referring to that the news had not yet by the time of preparing the dedication, reached to Estonia and Livonia).

¹⁹⁷ One of the original imprints of Ludvig Dunte’s sermon from November 15, 1632 is kept in Tartu History Museum in fond ÜAM 197: 105 (Dunte, L. *Eine Christliche Predikt oder....*) [Tartu]; Becker, 1632; two other copies are extant in Tallinn University Library I-533[1690](6) and I-4271[53575](8).

The sermon written by L. Dunte is bipartite consisting of an introductory part that covers the title page as well as a subsequent dedicatory part, and a substantial content part. Altogether the sermon comprises 58 pages, so that the introductory part constitutes seven pages – the title page covers one and the following dedicatory part six pages. Altogether the introductory part comprises 837 words out of which 90 cover the title page and the remaining 747 the following dedication.

The decorated title page is in fact tripartite depending on the title frame used. This one-piece title frame was purchased for the print shop of the Academy at the very beginning of his activity and used, besides for Dunte's imprint, also for printing three other books of religious content as well (cf. Jaanson 2000: 88–89, 95, 126). In terms of linguistic performance, the title page is in German ML – 75 words or 83% – and the remaining 15 words or 17% are in Latin. The text is placed in three parts – at the top of the decorated title page there is a motto (around the circle depicting God) written in Latin – *DOMINE DEUS DA MIHI NOSSE ME & TE* – adapted most probably from the first verse of St. Augustin's prayer *Domine Jesu, noverim me, noverim te*. However, as the title frame was purchased for the print shop, the text it comprises was already there and is thus not written by Dunte. The second and the third part of the text are both placed in the cartouches containing text written by Dunte, and thus the intersentential code-switching between the motto given in the circle and the first sentence in the second part (*/.../ Eine Christliche Predigt..../ .../*) was in fact not Dunte's intention, as he simply sent his text from Reval to Dorpat where the frame was then chosen and the sermon in turn printed.

Besides there are two examples of intrasentential code-switching within the texts in the cartouches. First, */.../ den 1.Novemb[ris] als /.../* in which congruent lexicalization between the German article and the following name of the month given in Latin is evident. In the second example written in the last part of the title page inside the second cartouche, however, before the Latinized name of Dunte, there is German preposition *durch*, which requires the accusative case, and so the following words in Latin are put in the accusative case:

/.../ Gehalten / vnd publiciret / Durch M[agistrum] Lvdovicvm Dvnte /.../.

The word *publiciret*, on the other hand, comprises the Latin word stem from *publicare* in which the German verb ending has been added. Since this word is not printed in fracture as the rest of the vernacular text, but in antiqua (and thus in the same way as Latin interpolations) instead, it is considered a Latin(ized) word and thus an example of cultural borrowing.

After the title page there is a five-page dedication by the author (i.e. L. Dunte) entitled *Epistola dedicatoria* written exclusively in Latin. It is addressed to the beneficiaries of the Academy – Johan Skytte (the Elder) and to Gustav II Adolph, who is still addressed as alive. Over the seven pages of the introductory part in which the title page as well as the following dedication are put together, the matrix language is Latin with 762 words or 91% (15 from the title pages and

the whole dedicatory part with 747 words), and German covers thus 75 words or 9%. Despite the fact that when considering the title page separately from the dedication part, German is the dominant language there and Latin is used as the embedded language – within the overall introductory part the linguistic patterns are just vice versa.

The following content part, the sermon, covers 51 pages with about 192 words per page. Each page follows the same structural elements – double pagination is used so that Arabic numbers for pages are given at the top of the page and letters with Roman numerals at the bottom. On each page in the same upper row where the page in Arabic numbers is given, there is also a three word title of the sermon written throughout the text in German – *Christliche Academien Predigt* (A Christian academic sermon, cf. Illustration 20). The title similar to one of the examples on the title page, also comprises a cultural borrowing – the word *Academien* which is printed as a German word in fracture and also provided with German case ending, is however taken from Latin.

As the content part as a whole has about 9,792 words, proportionally the greater part is written in German – 9,658 or nearly 98.7%. The remaining 134 words (i.e. 1.3%) are written in Latin. However, when taking into consideration the fact that the imprint as a whole contains 671 words in Latin and 9,733 in German, the overall proportion of Latin interpolations in the imprint as a whole is nearly 6.4% and thus 93.6% is in German. Even though this proportion of interpolations is rather low, it is still clear evidence that the academic sermon from the AG period was not exclusively monolingual, but contained a number of Latin interpolations as well.

In fact, Latin interpolations are used on 28 pages of the content out of 51, which thus means that on average the pages with examples of multilingual practices each comprise about 4 words on them or about 2% of the whole page. The switches from German to Latin are used 50 times within the sermon. This, in turn, means when there are 134 Latin interpolations used within those 28 pages, the frequency of the code-switching is over two single switches per page.

The greater part of all of the Latin interpolations are in fact either quotations from the Bible or religious Latin texts. Besides the religious vocabulary, a number of different terms from the academic sphere are also used. As the main text written in German is in fracture and the interpolations written in antiqua, Latin text is partly written in cursive while the text written in fracture is in upright style, the size of the font also varies within the text, the occasions of code-switching are also visually distinguishable. (cf. Illustration 20).

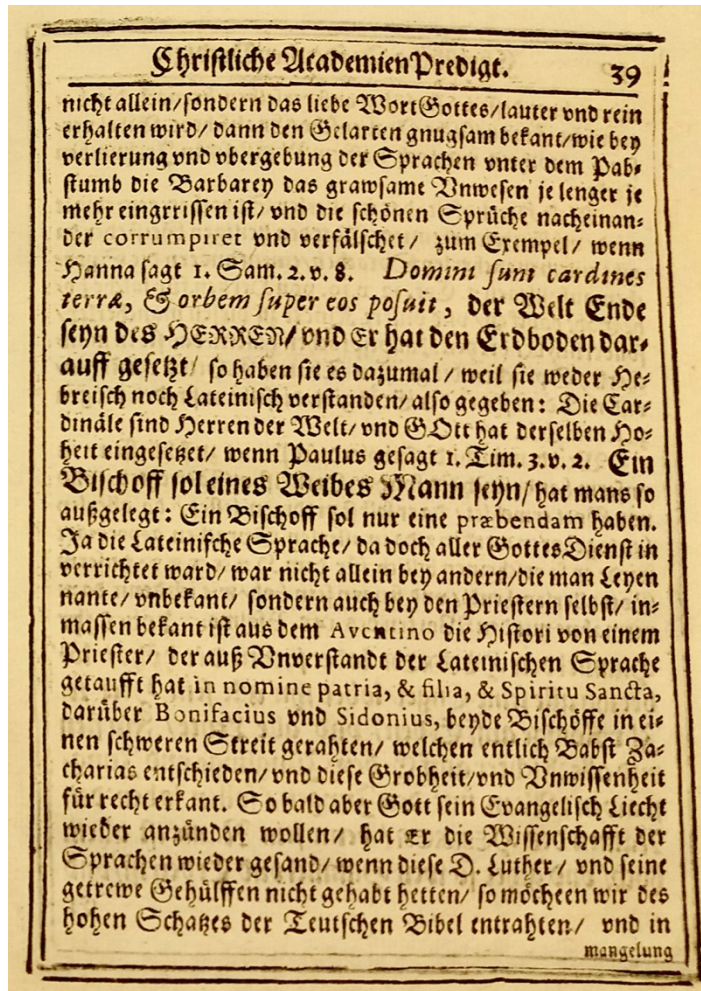


Illustration 20. Multilingual practices in the *Christliche Academien Predigt* by Ludwig Dunte from 1632, p. 39 (ÜAM 197:105)

Amongst all of the switches in the main part of the sermon, there are both examples of intra- as well as intersentential code-switching, of which the former is used the most frequently.

The frequency of switching from German to Latin within the sentence is the highest in a sentence on page 37 – occurring here on three occasions:

*/.../ Man schreibet von dem alten vornehmen Schulmeister **Trutzendorfio** wie er seine anbefohlene Schüler also gegrüßet / Gott grüsse euch ihr **Doctores**, ihr **Magistri**, ihr Cantzler / ihr Superintendenten, ihr Priester..../.../.*

In this example, all Latin switches are congruent with the German sentence. For instance, when referring to the scholar Trotzendorf¹⁹⁸, the German preposition *von* and article in dative singular *dem* is used, so that the following name in Latinized form is also put in dative – *Trutzendorffio* (about Trotzendorf).

The next two examples follow exactly the same scheme – the German plural pronoun *ihr* is used with the subsequent Latin nouns in vocative plural form – *ihr Doctores*, *ihr Magistri* (ye doctors, ye magisters). Since the rest of the analogically positioned nouns, which are provided with the German *ihr*, are given in German, then the usage of Latin for referring to the members of the Academy is quite a logical outcome, as the sermon was written and also indirectly dedicated to the Academy.

Another possible way of using Latin interpolations intrasententially within the German matrix, is to use it in double expressions, in which, the Latin word or phrase is provided with an exact translation into German as well:

*/.../ von derselben gleichsam **ex abrupto** vnd vrplötzlich an zu reden /.../.*

Here the Latin phrase *ex abrupto* (abruptly) is followed by the exact translation in German, most probably in order to present himself as a highly educated man who freely uses both languages.

In the next example congruent lexicalization is also evident:

*/.../ vnd auß dem Thron seiner Herzligkeit senden vber **Professores** vnnd Studenten /.../.*

Since the German preposition *über* (*vber*) requires accusative singular case, the the subsequent word in Latin is put in the accusative plural form like the word in German – *Studenten*.

Besides a number of examples in which intrasentential code-switching is evident, there are also some examples of longer Latin interpolations in which intersentential code-switching is of prevalence.

For example, on page 19 there is an occasion of code-switching:

*/.../ wie Christus spricht Joh: 17 v. 22. **Ego gloriam illam, quam tu, Pater, dedisti mihi, dedi illis.** Ich habe ihnen gegeben / die Herrligkeit/ die du mir gegeben hast /.../.*

Here the Latin interpolation is used as a full quotation taken from the Lutheran Bible. This example of code-switching is intersentential starting with a quote in Latin which is thus provided with an exact translation into German.

In summary, from the linguistic point of view, the content part of the text was predominantly written in German, a number of Latin interpolations were

¹⁹⁸ Valentin Friedland (1490–1556) also called as Valentin Troitschendorf or Trozendorf, Trocedorfius was a well know German scholar and educationist of the reformation.

still used within the German matrix. However, all of the occasions in which Latin is used, those words or quotations are either used regularly and thus known anyway, or provided with an exact translation into German. Both inter- as well as intrasentential code-switching with examples of congruent lexicalization appeared.

With his multilingual inaugural sermon Ludwig Dunte completely fulfills his linguistic programme, according to which teaching and using many languages at the university level is and should be a commonly used practice. In fact, it is the only text written in or addressed to the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* (besides sent from Reval) which explicitly emphasizes the importance of multilingual skills. He distinguishes the Learned languages – Latin, Greek, Hebrew – as *Hauptsprachen*, which must be taught, and then provides the problem of the corrupted use of Latin language by the Catholic clergymen (cf. Dunte 1632: 38–39):

*/.../ Academien ins gemein / vnd die vnsere / sind örther (3) da der HERR predigen leset in allerley Sprachen. Sonderlich in der Hauptsprachen / Hebreisch / Griechisch / Lateinisch / welches fürwar eine oberauß grosse Wolthat des lieben Gottes ist / dadurch die freyen Künste nicht allein/ sondern das liebe Wort Gottes / lauter und rein erhalten wird / dann den Gelarten gnugsam bekant/ wie bey verlierung vnd vbergebung der Sprachen vnter dem Pabstumb die Barbarey das grawsame Vnwesen je lenger je mehr eingrissen ist / vnd die schönen Sprüche nacheinander corrupiret vnd verfälschet / zum Exempel/ wenn Hanna sagt 1. Sam. 2. v. 8. **Domini sunt cardines terrae, & orbem super eos posuit**, der Welt Ende seyn des HERREN / vnd Er hat den Erdboden darauff gesetzt / so haben sie es dazumal / weil sie weder Hebreisch noch Lateinisch verstanden /.../*

And:

*/.../ bekant ist aus dem Aventino die Histori von einem Priester der auss Unverstandt der Lateinischen Sprache getauft hat **in nomine patriæ, & filia, & Spiritu Sancta**, darüber Bonifacius vnd Sidonius, beyde Bischöffe in einen schweren Streit gerahten / welchen entlich Babst Zacharias entschied / vnd diese Grobheit vnd Unwissenheit für recht erkannt /.../ (cf. *Ibidem* 39).*

However, he also claims the use of vernacular languages to be acceptable, and therefore the local Academy founded in Dorpat is of great importance in order to educate new Lutheran clergyman and, in turn, to provide the local church with needed ministers (cf. *Ibidem* 39–40):

/.../ Sobald aber Gott sein Evangelisch Liecht wieder anzünden wollen / hat Er die Wissenschaft der Sprachen wieder gesand / wenn diese D. Luther / vnd seine getrewe Gehülffen nicht gehabt hetten / so möchten wir des hohen Schatzes der Teutschen Bibel entrahten /vnd in mangelung dessen (sintemal auß derselben hernach die Lateinischen / Frantzösische / Italiensche / Englische etc. Bibel versetze,) möchten wir noch tieff im Papistischen Irthumben stecken.

Diese Herrligkeit / das in allerley Sprachen geprediget wird / müssen wir erkennen / Gott heiligen Geist / der da gibt einem mancherley Sprachen / einem andern die Sprachen außzulegen 1. Cor. 12. v. 10. von Hertzen für solche hohe Gabe dancken /.../

For Dunte, the reason to seek multilingual skills and use different languages is for God's favour:

/.../ eine oherauß grosse Wolthat des lieben Gottes. /.../

Therefore, according to Dunte, the multilingual practices in the early modern Academia Dorpatensis can be interpreted as a condition depending on the religious situation in north-eastern Europe.

5.3.3. Multilingual occasional poems

5.3.3.1. The quantity, linguistic division and structure of multilingual occasional poems

The corpus of multilingual occasional poems comprises the largest amount of multilingual text-units within the corpus of ceremonial and festive academic texts – altogether 38 text-units (88%). The majority of them – 31 or nearly 82% – are extant from the AG and the remaining seven (18%) from the AGC period. In order to better comprehend which language combinations in which types of occasional poems were preferred, the following table (Table 9) is given. The division of poems is given in the first column provided with the equivalent language-combination (e.g. *epicedia LA-DE* means that there are mourning poems written in Latin and German). The number of poems with different language combinations are shown in the middle and right-hand column according to whether they are extant from the *Academia Gustaviana* or *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*.

All in all there are 10 different types of language-combinations amongst different genres of multilingual representative occasional poems – seven of them are bilingual, two trilingual and one even sextalingual combination. The most multifaceted genres are the *epicedia* and *epithalamia* both that provides seven types of combinations amongst the genre. In the sub-genre of *epicedia* there are six occasions of bilingual combinations out of which the Latin and German combination is the most popular with 15 poems (13 from the AG and two from the AGC period), next are the poems with Latin and Swedish with five examples all which are extant from the AG period. All the other bilingual combinations are each used once – Icelandic and Latin, Latin and Low German, Latin and Greek, and Latin with Hebrew. There are also two examples of trilingual poems in which Latin, German and Estonian have been mixed together.

Table 9. Linguistic performance of multilingual occasional poems written during the *Academia Gustaviana* and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* period

Subgenres of a poem	<i>Academia Gustaviana</i>	<i>Academia Gustavo-Carolina</i>
<i>Epicedia</i> LA+DE	13	2
<i>Epicedia</i> LA+SE	5	-
<i>Epicedia</i> IS+LA	-	1
<i>Epicedia</i> LA+ND	1	-
<i>Epicedia</i> LA+GR	1	1
<i>Epicedia</i> HBR+LA	-	1
<i>Epicedia</i> LA+DE+EST	2	-
<i>Encomia</i> LA+SE	2	3
<i>Encomia</i> LA+DE	-	1
<i>Encomia</i> LA+ND	1	-
<i>Encomia</i> LA+GR	1	-
<i>Epithalamia</i> LA+DE	11	1
<i>Epithalamia</i> LA+SE	4	1
<i>Epithalamia</i> LA+ND	2	-
<i>Epithalamia</i> LA+GR	1	-
<i>Epithalamia</i> LA+EST	1	-
<i>Epithalamia</i> GR+SE+LA	1	-
<i>Epithalamia</i> HBR+GR+LA+DE+SE+LV	1	-
<i>Genethliaca</i> LA+DE	1	-
<i>Genethliaca</i> LA+SE	1	-

Epithalamia, on the other hand, provide five examples of bilingual combinations, one which is tri- and one which is sextalingual. Similar to the *epicedia*, here too Latin-German and Latin-Swedish combinations are the most popular with 12 examples for both of them. Latin with Low German is used twice, and likewise Latin with Greek and Latin with Estonian are both used once.

The only trilingual combinations comprising Greek, Swedish and Latin are extant from the AG period. Within the sextalingual *epithalamia* extant from the AG period, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Swedish and Latvian are all used within the poem.

There are also two examples of *genethliaca* extant from the AG period – one written in Latin-German, and the other in Latin-Swedish.

In terms of structure the multilingual occasional poems are almost exclusively bipartite (48 out of 60), with 12 being tripartite.

Like the monolingual occasional poems, bipartite poems comprise a visually discernable content part and closing part in which the signature of the author with or without his title and origin is given. Tripartite poems are also provided with either a short title or with some allocutions to the person(s) the poem is dedicated to.

The following sub-chapter (5.3.3.2) will present the results of a case study of an occasional poem.

5.3.3.2. Case study: a bilingual *epithalamium* written by Olaus Georgii Salenius from 1643 as an example of intersentential code-switching

The occasional poem chosen for the following case study is a wedding poem – *epithalamium* – written on 26 June 1643 by Olaus Georgii Salenius, minister of Rõngu (Ringen) Mihkli congregation (1636–1651) as a part of a number of such wedding poems in a collection initiated by the professor of Rhetoric and Poetics of the AG, Laurentius Ludenius. The *epithalamium* is dedicated to the professor of Hebrew and Greek languages of the AG, Johannes Georgii Gezelius and Gertrud Gutheim on their wedding.¹⁹⁹ (cf. Illustration 21)

In terms of structure the poem can be considered bipartite without any allocutions to the addressees, comprising a substantial content part in which two parts of the poem are given, and a closing part, which comprises the name, origin and position of the author.

The overall length of the poem is 140 words, with 131 words (94%) in the content section, and nine words (6%) in the closing part.

The content comprises two parts – a poem written in Latin and a second poem, which is also shorter, in Estonian. The first poem, which is monolingual, comprises altogether 86 words that are divided between 14 verses so that each covers roughly 6 words. This part is written in elegiac distichs, and despite the fact that the poem as a whole does not comprise a title with allocutions to the addressees, in the Latin poem there is a clear allocution to Gezelius capitalized and thus intentionally emphasized. This part comprises all the good wishes as well as recommendations from the author.

¹⁹⁹ The collection of quarto format *epithalamia* dedicated to J.G. Gezelius and his wife on their marriage (*Sacris nuptiarum honoribus Clarissimi et Excellentissimi viri Dn. M. Johannis Georgii Gezelii, ...*) that was collected by Laurentius Ludenius (AG professor of Rhetoric and Poetics) are kept in Helsinki University Library, Academic Library of Latvian University, Uppsala University Library as well as in MRBD (in fond R Acad. Dorp. 1643:9).



Illustration 21. *Epithalamium* by Olaus Georgii Salenius to Johannes Georgii Gezelius and Gertrud Gutheim from 1643 (R Acad. Dorp. 1643:9)

This part is followed by a visually discernable short introductory title (in Latin) to the following part of the poem in Estonian: */.../ Jocus Esthonicus /.../* (*Joke in Estonian*). The poem written exclusively in Estonian is not identical in terms of content to the Latin poem and in terms of length exactly half that of the Latin poem – it consists of 43 words divided between eight verses (written in two rows) so that each comprises about five words. Ending rhymes are used so that the last words in two of the following verses rhyme. For example:

*/.../ Wotta Morsia / mene tanzi/
 Ninck hoyā sa ohma kanzi /.../
 (Take your pride to a dance,
 and protect what is yours).*

Despite the fact that this poem, similar to the above given utterly Latin part, is monolingual, code-switching is also evident. There are two occasions of intra-sentential code-switching – between the short two-word title given in Latin and the first verse of the Estonian written poem:

*/.../ Jocus Esthonicus/
 Touse vlesz armaß Isend /.../*

In this poem, Latin is the matrix language and Estonian the embedded language. However, as the code-switching is intersentential no occasions of congruent lexicalizations are possible. The part given in Latin can therefore be considered an alternation from Latin to Estonian and back to Latin. The fact that the sub-heading is written in Latin and not in Estonian can be (1) due to the first part, which was written exclusively in Latin and thus influenced the following part as well; and (2) due to the addressee's lack of knowledge in Estonian.

The second place in which intersentential code-switching occurs, is between the last verse of the poem and the closing part of the poem:

/.../ *Sedde mina neile günne.* /
*Gratulabundus scribebat.*²⁰⁰ /.../.

Even though there are a number of multilingual occasional poems amongst the material in this sub-group, in every one code-switching is intersentential, and thus between sentences. One reason for such a practice is using different metres for different languages, and therefore other types of code-switching are often impossible (cf. for similar practices in chapters 4.3.1.3 and 4.3.1.5).

5.4. Conclusion

The chapter on ceremonial and festive academic texts is unique amongst all the other chapters due to the fact that it comprises exclusively only imprints. The corpus comprises text-units which in terms of their objectives can be divided into six sub-groups out of which three also comprise examples of multilingual practices. However, in the inaugural speech, a number of different programmes, invitations, proclamations as well as ceremonial orations are representative of monolingual linguistic performance being written utterly in Latin (with, in fact, not a single example of vernaculars).

There are two extant examples of the descriptions of *actus inauguralis*, which both represent text-units with multilingual practices. The text from the AG is written in a German matrix and provided with systematic yet formulaic Latin interpolations, while the other *relatio*, almost 70 years later from the AGC period, is written almost exclusively in Latin with just a single example of a French interpolation, with the name of a new musical instrument *hautbois* (oboe), which is also provided with an introductory formula. Therefore, at the end of the 17th century, in this text group the tendency to minimize multilingual performance, except when introducing new terminology not existant in Latin, can be seen.

²⁰⁰ The short characterization of the Estonian language skills of Salemann is given in Alttõa, Villem; Valmet, Aino. *17. sajandi ja 18. sajandi alguse eestikeelne juhuluule*. Tallinn: Valgus, 1973, 43–45.

Sermons, which are all multilingual and written in a vernacular matrix showed the systematic use of Latin interpolations with examples of inter- as well as intrasentential code-switching in which alternations and congruent lexicalizations are also used. As the main objectives of those text-units was to be presented orally to a larger audience, all the instances in which Latin is used, are also provided either with a word-for-word translation into Latin, the interpolations are universal and known to all, or an introductory formula is used.

Occasional poems also contain examples of multilingual practices. Yet, similar to the poetic exercises from chapter 4, code-switching in poems is exclusively intersentential due to the different metrical and prosodical systems of Latin and the resp. vernaculars.

6. LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN OFFICIAL AND PERSONAL COMMUNICATION FROM THE *ACADEMIA DORPATENSIS*

6.1. Overview of the mono- and multilingual text corpus

The present chapter focuses on the large number of handwritten letters and letter-like items written as a part of both official and personal communication during the AG and the AGC periods by or to the members of the Academy. The distinction between mono- and multilingual texts will be made in order to indicate the used linguistic performance with the focal point on multilingual practices.

As the study material of this chapter is quite multifaceted, it can be divided in a number of different ways. In the following, however, the division into three major groups according to their main characteristics as well as objectives of each text-unit is applied:

- (1) official and personal correspondence in the Academy (i.e. letters, from both the AG and AGC periods),²⁰¹
- (2) student scholarship applications to the Consistory of the Academy (from the 1690s in the AGC period),²⁰²
- (3) entries in the *alba amicorum* (from both the AG and AGC periods).²⁰³

²⁰¹ Under “official and personal correspondence” letters sent to and out of the Academy from both the AG and AGC periods are considered. The official correspondence here includes letters from the academic institutions (e.g. Consistory) and officials (e.g. rector, deans, chancellor etc.) to the other institutions and officials outside of the academy (e.g. the Swedish King, Royal chancellery, the town council of Dorpat etc.) and vice versa. In addition, the mutual letters of the members of the academy which do not contain private content, are also considered in this group, such as vocations of new professors as well as the other officials of the Academy. The personal correspondence includes letters by private persons connected with the Academy, extant among the collections of the *Academia Dorpatensis* related mostly to the personal matters of the individuals. In this study, however, no systematic comparison of the linguistic performance in the personal and official letters have been made due to the fact that in many cases a definite distinction of different types of letters is rather impossible to make. For the complicated terminology of different kinds of letters from the Classical Antiquity to the Early Modern humanism cf. Henderson 2002: 17–38, esp. pp. 18–22; Henderson 2014: VII–XXII, esp. p. X.

The majority of the extant letters are kept in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm, also in the fond Livonica II in a number of volumes: vol. 446–448, 450–451, 455–459, 465, 467, 471–472, as well as in the MRBD in fond 7, 40–41.

²⁰² Student scholarship application are extant only from the 1690s (i.e. AGCD period of the Academy). All of the original applications are kept in Sweden, in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm, in fond Livonica II, vol 471 “Ansökningar” (applications) all of which are unpaginated.

²⁰³ Under “*alba amicorum*” mainly student *alba* (albums), which consisted of a number of entries from different individuals written in different locations during the owner’s *pere-*

Students' scholarship applications as well as all the different entries in students' *alba amicorum* are, in fact, considered under the common denominator of this chapter – “official and personal communication” – as (a) they mostly follow the structure of letters, (b) their dominating function is both the communicative and interactive, and (c) a number of them can be categorized under ego-documents, especially those written from the perspective of a single author (such as entries in *alba amicorum*, scholarship applications as well as personal letters).²⁰⁴

All these three text groups represent different types of letters, which according to the humanist classification well known from many Renaissance and early modern letter-writing manuals (cf. Mack 2011: 228–256) represented in Estonia and Livonia, incl. from the treatise written by the professor of rhetoric and the rector of the Gymnasium in Reval Heinrich Arninck (1658: 13–14), can be subdivided under certain types, taking into account their main characteristics, such as their writing purpose, style, addressee etc. Therefore, in the early modern times all the letters were divided into three main categories: 1) deliberative (*genus deliberativum*), 2) demonstrative (*genus demonstrativum*) and 3)

grinatio academica are considered. The total number of the completely extant *alba amicorum* is two and both are from the AGC period from the end of the 1690s to the beginning of the first decade of the 1700s. In this thesis and chapter, however, the overall number of completely extant *alba amicorum* is not taken into the count in the overall statistics, but the exact number of single entries within the albums, where every one is considered an individual text-unit instead. Therefore, the exact number for the text-units of *alba amicorum* is not two but 221 (for more about the definition of a text-unit see footnote 16 in the Introduction). The extant *alba amicorum* and the separately extant sheets of albums are kept in 1) MRBD F 7, 38 (*album amicorum* of Johann Gerngros from 1699–1702), 2) Estonian National Archives 1394-1-99 (*album amicorum* of Adam Andreae from 1696–1702), and 3) the collection of copied entries from the students and scholars of the *Academia Dorpatensis* collected by Vello Helk from different albums, which were previously held in many different archives and libraries in Europe and the USA, is kept also in the Estonian National Archives, F 5383-1, 20–28. Students' *alba amicorum* are in fact the only text type within the data of the present chapter that have been studied in depth before. See, for instance, articles published by V. Helk in the journal *Tulimuld* (1973 no 3–4, 1974 no 1, 1975 no 1, 1977 no 3); and a PhD thesis written in 2011 by Katre Kaju *Vive hodie, cras vivere serum est: humanistlik-kristlik haridustraditsioon ja Riia pastori Adam Andreae reisialbum (1696–1702)*, Tartu et al.

It has to be mentioned here that the reason why only the entries written by the students or professors of the Academy from the AG period have been chosen is the fact that some of those albums are not completely extant to this day (only some random entries).

²⁰⁴ The term “ego-documents” was developed in 1955 by historian Jacques Presser who considered as ego-documents all the writings in which the author as “I” is always present (cf. www.egodocuments.net). They are also considered to be rather close to authentic speech, and have been categorized even further according to the relationship between a speech event and its written record: recorded text (interviews), recalled (ex-slave narratives), imagined (letters, diaries), observed (commentaries), invented (literary dialect) (cf. Schneider 2005: 70–81). As personal letters have interactive purpose, they are considered to be on the side of the language of immediacy due which the given division is applicable to the present study (cf. Koch & Oesterreicher 1985; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 29; Elspaß 2012a: 157–159; Van der Wal & Rutten 2013: 3).

judicial (*genus judiciale*) letters (*Ibidem*, 13). Each, in turn, contains a number of specified sub-genres of letters.²⁰⁵ Most of those sub-divisions are also represented amongst the academic letter-production of the AG and the AGC periods. The only examples which do not occur in either the AG nor AGC period are *epistolae jocosae* (jocose letters) and *minatoriae* (minatory letters). As the majority of the letters are official, then the last mentioned two letter types did not suite the required forms.

Student scholarship applications, however, can be interpreted as petition letters (*epistolae petitoriae*), and entries in *alba amicorum* as laudatory (*epistolae laudatoriae*), dedicatory (*epistolae dedicatariae*) or thank-you letters (*epistolae gratiarum actrices*) depending mostly on the types of the entries.

A concept important for many early modern letters, is according to Gary Schneider (2005: 22) their consideration as “*sociotexts – collective social forms designed, understood, and expected to circulate within designed epistolary circles*”. This concept by Schneider assimilates the letters to the entries in the *alba amicorum*. As one of their most important functions was to acknowledge and affirm friendship between the author of the entry and the owner of the album, as also the album’s name in Latin – *album amicorum* (in word-for-word translation “friends’ album”, in German tradition *Stammbuch*) – refers to (cf. Klose 1982: 45; Kaju 2011: 26–27, 105), and communicates to the other users of the album. Those writings, therefore, are examples of academic text-units with a lower level of sociotextuality. Letter-like scholarship applications, however, were predominantly written by students to a very small audience and their main objective was to gain a scholarship or occasionally an increase to the scholarship. This, in turn, is an important characteristic that differentiates scholarship applications from proper letters.

All of those text-units of the different sub-groups in the present chapter will be divided into mono- and multilingual texts and will thus be studied in more depth in the subsequent sub-chapters of 6.2, which briefly analyses all of the monolingual text-units, and in 6.3, which is followed by the numerical overview of the multilingual texts in the corpus of academic and personal communication, setting a linguistic framework for the six subsequent case studies. For the exhaustive case studies under each text type (either letters, scholarship applications or entries in *alba amicorum*) two different, but rather exemplary text-units are chosen. Yet, before the analysis parts, the overall statistical information of the data of this chapter’s corpus will be given.

The corpus collected for this chapter comprises all of the extant text-units considering academic and personal communication from both periods of the

²⁰⁵ Under each division there are following sub-genres of letters: 1) under deliberative letters the sub-genres are as follows: *Epistolae Svasoriae et Dissvasoriae*, *Hortatoriae*, *Dehortatoriae*, *Consolatoriae*, *Petitoriae*, *Commendatoriae*, *Conciliatoriae*, *Communicatoriae*, *Disputatoriae*, *Mandatoriae* etc; 2) under demonstrative letters the following sub-genres are represented: *Epistolae Nuntiatoriae*, *Gratiarum actrices*, *Gratuloriae*, *Dedicatariae*, *Laudatoriae*, *Reprehensoriae*, *Jocosae* etc; and 3) under judicial letters the following types can be distinguished: *Epistolae Accusatariae sive Expostulatoriae*, *Querulae*, *Minatoriae* etc.

Academy – AG and AGC. All of the texts are in fact manuscripts with not a single imprint. The total academic material in this chapter is 3,045 text-units, which constitutes over one-third or 39% of the whole extant academic heritage of the *Academia Dorpatensis* (i.e. from 7,831 text-units). In fact, this chapter's data also comprises the largest amount of text-units in this thesis. The majority of the text-units – 2,220 or nearly 73% – were written during the AGC period, and 825 text-units or about 27% during the AG period. There are nearly two and a half times less texts extant from the AG period, and this can be explained by the fact that there is not a single scholarship application nor hardly any (with the exception of just 19 text-units) entries from the *alba amicorum* from this period either.

When distinguishing mono- and multilingual text-units, monolingual texts written during the AG period total 305, and the equivalent for the AGC period is 1,010, which is over three times as many texts. The overall number of monolingual texts of academic and personal communication from the *Academia Dorpatensis* is therefore 1,315 text-units which constitutes as much as 43% of the whole corpus of this chapter. The equivalent figures for multilingual texts, on the other hand, are 520 text-units from the AG and 1,210 from the AGC period, respectively. The overall number of multilingual text-units in this chapter is 1,730, which, in turn, constitutes about 57%. In addition to being the most voluminous chapter of this thesis in terms of the total number of single text-units (but not of the total number of words), it is also one in which the proportion of multilingual text-units exceeds the total monolingual text-units – 58% of the text-units are multi- and 42% are monolingual. In all the other chapters, however, the majority of the text-units are monolingual.

In order to estimate the given proportions, the average number of words in both sub-groups of mono- and multilingual text-units will also be given. From all of the texts of this chapter, proper letters (*epistolae propriae*), which are the most numerous with 2,641 text-units, are also the lengthiest with one to four pages with an average of two pages per folio-size letter.²⁰⁶ As the average number of words per page in a letter is 217, it means that a letter contains approximately 434 words on average, and therefore together 1,146,194 words. All of the 965 monolingual letters together contain 418,810 words constituting 37%, and the equivalent for multilingual letters 1,676 text-units with 727,384 words which, in turn, constitutes about 63% of the whole letter-corpus of this chapter.

Scholarship applications, on the other hand, are extant only from the AGC period (and in fact only from the AGCD period) and tend to be rather shorter, with 1.5 pages on average that incorporate 240 words. As there are only 183 either folio or quarto format scholarship applications, it means that they

²⁰⁶ All the averages have been taken after performing a t-test with random sampling of the data (see more in Chapter 4, sub-chapter 4.3.1.2. footnote 145).

comprise about 29,280 words altogether.²⁰⁷ As the majority of the scholarship applications – 177 – are monolingual, they contain as much as 28,320 words. The equivalent for the six multilingual applications is only 960 words. Yet, entries in *alba amicorum* tend to be the shortest and all but 19 entries are extant from the AGC period (i.e. 202 entries). Each entry covers a page (all or part of it) in an octavo (querformat) format album primarily using horizontal layout that, in turn, impacts the length of each line. Taking into account a random sampling of a number of entries, the average number of words per entry (and thus per page) is 39, which is over four to five times less than in letters and scholarship applications. Consequently, the total amount of words in all entries in the *alba amicorum* is 8,619. Of those entries, as many as 173 are exclusively monolingual with 6,747 words, and 48 multilingual with 1,781 words.

When analysing how the texts from the division of academic and personal communications could be divided throughout the *Academia Dorpatensis*, the exact timeframe the texts were created has to be taken into consideration. Of the three sub-groups of texts, it occurs that the letter-genre is the most persistent – letters were written and sent throughout the AG and AGC periods without any exceptions in every decade. Entries to the *alba amicorum* that are extant to this day are, however, rather sporadic – there are only 19 entries surviving from the AG and over ten times that number (202) from the AGC period. Regardless of the fact that the overall amount of existing entries from the first period of the Academy is rather small, they can still be found from each decade of the period (i.e. from the 1630s (11 entries), 1640s (two entries) and 1650s (six entries)). From the AGC period entries were written at the end of the 1690s and at the beginning of the 1700s (up to 1702). Unlike the previously mentioned text groups, scholarship applications are preserved only from the second period of the AGC, and in fact all 183 text-units are from its AGCD period. The Consistory protocols of the AG period from 1638, however, shows the guidelines for applications indicating a distinction between different levels or degrees of scholarships (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 52; Tering 1994: 120–121; Hiio and Piirimäe 2007: 54)²⁰⁸, and this allows to assume that scholarship applications were still written during both periods of the *Academia Dorpatensis*.

²⁰⁷ The shortest scholarship applications were about 100 words long, while, on the other hand, the length of the longest applications were nearly 600 words. In fact, the longest application was one of the multilingual applications with a preference for Swedish as the vernacular.

²⁰⁸ In the Consistory protocol from November 7, 1638 the following is dedicated to the discussion of scholarships: /.../ *Proponit, quod heri acceperit pecuniam, inter studiosos distribuendam & quod aliqui e studiosis conquesti sint de collocatione quoad classes & quod petierint in classem superiorem, transferri, additis rationibus desumptis e paupertate, eruditione & tempore, per quod hic vixere. & Querit 1. An qui prores sunt tempore, sint coeteris, qui tempore sunt posteriores, sint praeferendi? 2. Num beneficiarij e superioribus classibus, ad inferiores sint referendi? D[omi]n[us] M[agister] Salomon [Matthiae] R[espondet], quod distributio in certas classes suo in Rectoratu facta sit, sed conditiones studiosorum quod ignorata, sed a Eruditionis & paupertatis rationem tum esse habitam. Interim tamen diligentiae & temporis rationem aliqui esse habendum, non diffiteatur. D[omi]n[us] D[omi]n[us]*

Before analysing which languages were used in the multilingual texts of academic and personal communications and exactly how, the three groups of monolingual text-units will be described in more detail in sub-chapter 6.2.

6.2. Monolingual text-units of official and personal communications

All of the sub-groups of letters and letter-like items contain a considerable volume of monolingual texts. Monolingual texts in the division of official and personal communications are texts written either exclusively in Latin (154 from the AG and 604 from AGC) or in a vernacular, predominantly in Swedish (90 from the AG and 370 from the AGC) or in German (61 from the AG and 19 from the AGC period). As shown, Swedish was the most often used vernacular within monolingual text-units in both periods with 460 writings, while the equivalent for German is 70, or almost eight times less. This parameter clearly indicates Swedish to be the most popular as well as most often used vernacular when producing monolingual text-units at the *Academia Dorpatensis*, obviously due to the fact that Livonia and the Academy was under the reign of Sweden, and during the AGC period the majority of the professors as well as students were also of Swedish origin. All the other minority vernaculars used in monolingual academic communicative texts, however, were French in nine text-units, Greek in two, and then one text-unit each in Italian and Polish. This, in turn, means that all the minority vernaculars were rather secondary in monolingual texts.

In contradiction to the instructional and scientific academic material analysed in Chapter 4, which is the only chapter in which the material's linguistic performance has been commented on in the constitutions, here for this chapter's data, there are no precepts in the constitutions of the Academy (1650, 1689) on how the academic letters or scholarship applications, not to mention personal entries in albums, should be either structured or written. This outcome is quite logical for personal letters, scholarship applications and entries in the *alba amicorum* – the content of these texts is rather personal, written from the standpoint of one author to a certain addressee, and can even be considered ego-documents that were meant to be written from the perspective of the author. The absence of linguistic precepts for the official correspondence of the AG and AGC is, on the contrary, unexpected, as, for example, the contemporary

M[agister] Schomerus R[espondet] ad 1. q[uaestionem], quod iam conventum sit in eo, quod priores sint posterioribus praeferendi, si adsit aequalis eruditio & paupertas & diligentiam. Et quod certamen sit instituendum, ut D[omi]n[us] D[ecanus] Facultatis philosophicae, possit de eruditione judicare & Mag. Dn, Rectorem deferre. Ad 2. q[uestionem] R[espondet], quod Essent referendi, si stipendia haberent sufficientia. Item, quod alij sint, qui a parentibus suis habere possint necessaria ad victum. (cf. Tering 1994: 120–121)

chancelleries of different non-academic institutions had their own *regulae cancellariae*, incl. in terms of their usage of different languages.

6.2.1. Monolingual official and personal letters

In the corpus of texts of official and personal communications there are 2,641 letters extant. In fact, monolingual texts make up the smallest group with 965 or about 37%, which is, in turn, the only sub-group of academic texts in this chapter in which there are less monolingual than multilingual text-units.

During the AG period when writing monolingual letters, three languages were preferred – the majority of the letters were written exclusively in Latin (144), followed by Swedish (90) and lastly German (59). The AGC period, however, was more multifaceted in terms of using different languages. Namely, the majority of the monolingual letters (370) were not written in Latin as in the first period, but in Swedish instead. Latin (282) was the second most common language when writing monolingual letters during the AGC. Three other languages can be considered as less common languages due to the fact that all of them – German (17), French (2), Greek (1) – were preferred in a total of 20 letters. During the AG period, 268 letters were monolingual, while during the AGC period more than twice as many – 672. From the given linguistic division of the two periods, it is evident that a shift from a preference for the Classical language Latin during the AG period to the more favoured vernacular – Swedish – had to occur after the AG closed and before it was re-opened as the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* in 1690 (so that by that time the shift had already taken place). The most popular types of monolingual letters by frequency of occurrence amongst the whole corpus of letters in the Academy during the AG period were *epistolae nuntiatoriae*, *commendatoriae* and *petitoriae*, while during the AGC *epistolae petitoriae* were the most popular letters followed by *dedicatoriae* and *nuntiatoriae*.

In the present thesis, monolingual and multilingual letters from the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* will be considered as almost exclusively tripartite in which all the different parts are usually separated from one another and thus are visually distinguishable. The first part is considered to be a rather formulaic introductory part, which is in accordance with the *salutatio* in the traditional approach to the structure of letters from the antiquity, medieval and early modern periods.²⁰⁹ This is followed by the content part (i.e. main text) with a number of

²⁰⁹ See more about letter writing in the Classical antiquity in (1) Peter L. Schmidt. Brief. – *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Alterum*. Vol. 2. Stuttgart & Weimar: Metzler, 1997, pp. 771–773, 774–775; about medieval letter writing in (2) Hans M. Schaller. *Ars dictaminis. Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Vol. 1. München, Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1980, pp. 1034–1039; (3) Franz-Josef Schmale. Brief. *Lateinisches Mittelalter. Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, pp. 952–959; (4) Peter Koch. *Briefkunst/Ars dictaminis. Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. vol. 13. Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler, 1999, pp. 545–551; (5) Martin Camargo. *Ars dictaminis. Historisches Wörter-*

different topics interlaced either using some transitional formulae or not, causing a linguistic designation of early modern letters known as *epistolae mixtae* (mixed letters) (cf. Viiding 2016: 119). The last part is the closing part in which the place and time of writing and salutations are given (*conclusio*).

The first and the last part of monolingual letters are also considered to be paratexts and they contain mostly rather formulaic allocutions to the addressee that most often were the king of Sweden, rector, professors of the Academy (mostly in introductory remarks) and references to the author(s), which usually means his signature or full name with the place and time of writing. In fact, both exclusively Latin as well as vernacular monolingual letters contained rather similar formulaic introductory as well as occasionally closing parts. The only difference is the length of those parts – the ones written exclusively in vernaculars are slightly longer than those in Latin.

6.2.2. Monolingual scholarship applications

The total number of scholarship applications that are extant from the *Academia Dorpatensis* is 183, of which as many as 177 are exclusively monolingual so that 176 are written in Latin and a single one in Greek; in other words, 96.7% of all of the applications were monolingual showing no language change whatsoever.²¹⁰ This practice clearly indicates that in some genres vernaculars were not accepted even during the AGC period. In fact, neither the statutes of the Academy nor the protocols of the Consistory designated the language to be used in applications, and nothing was written nor commented on about their structure or style either.

The average length of all of the monolingual scholarship applications was one to two pages with an average of 240 words per application (cf. Kriisa 2017b: 762–764).

Consequently, despite the remarkable difference in the linguistic performance of the scholarship applications and other letters, the structure of the monolingual applications as petition letters seem to follow the structure of letters and can also be considered tripartite texts in which a distinction is made between the opening, content part and closing clauses. Under the opening clause,

buch der Rhetorik. Hrsg. von Gert Ueding. vol. 1. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992, pp. 1040–1046. An introduction to the humanist letter-writing tradition incl. the structure of letters can be found in the following treatises: (1) Jozef IJsewijn, Dirk Sacré. *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*. Second Entirely Rewritten Edition. Vol. 2. Leuven, 1998, pp. 218–228; (2) Jeanine De Landtsheer. *Letters*. – Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World. Macropaedia. Eds. by Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, Charles Fantazzi. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014, pp. 335–349; (3) Jan Papy. *Letters*. – The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin. Eds. by Sarah Knight, Stefan Tilg. Oxford, 2015, pp. 167–182.

²¹⁰ I have analysed scholarship applications, especially multilingual ones in an article entitled as *Language change in academic texts from the University of Dorpat: scholarship applications as examples of students' multilingual practices* (cf. Kriisa 2017b: 759–782).

the official opening of the applications, which is also visually distinguishable, is considered. This is followed by the content part, which constitutes the main part of the entire application and thus the main aim of the text – a petition. The very last part of the text is the closing clause, which, as in the opening clause, is clearly visually distinguishable from the remaining text.²¹¹ The first and the last part are also considered paratexts containing mostly allocutions to the addressee, which in most cases were the Consistory, rector and professors of the Academy as well as an exact reference to the author, date and place when and where it was written.

In terms of the content, all of the monolingual applications are full of laudatory allocutions to contemporary persons, especially to the rector and the professors of the Academy. None of the applications included any allocutions to muses or mythological figures nor included any passages from Classical Latin or Christian texts, which was typical practice in the other genres engaged in by the students at that time. Every applicant mentioned his social status at least once; and living in poverty seems to have been preferable. The only requirement for a student to obtain an increase in their scholarship was to refrain from breaking any of the academy's laws. In consideration of the applicants' rhetorical strategy in writing the application a double-sided beneficial "agreement" between the students and the university officials (*obligatio mutua*) can be seen – a strategy very typical for occasional poetry as another genre engaged in by the students.

Amongst the monolingual applications, in fact, a single one is even written in elegiac distichs.²¹² This application was written on 9 November 1695 by a student of philosophy Henricus Meurch (Heinrich Mörk), a Swede who was matriculated to the AGCD on 2 August 1693 (cf. Tering 1984: 330, entry no. 1318). It shares with the majority of the monolingual scholarship applications the common practice of using Latin as well as a tripartite structure. This application consists of 256 words, which is about 7% longer than the average

²¹¹ All of the monolingual scholarship applications are very calligraphic and visually spectacular.

²¹² In early modern Sweden, i.e. during the 17th and 18th century, the practice of writing handwritten applications in metre on different topics was more popular than in *Academia Dorpatensis*. There are in fact about 30 such applications extant from this period. One Swedish poet, in fact, Johan Runius (1679–1713) wrote a poem entitled *Petitorium* to the committee of the scholarship applications, but it is unknown whether he really sent it to the committee or not:

<http://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/RuniusJ/titlar/SamladeSkrifter2/sida/20/faksimil>;
<http://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/RuniusJ/titlar/SamladeSkrifter2/sida/23/faksimil>;
<http://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/RuniusJ/titlar/SamladeSkrifter4/sida/148/faksimil>

[accessed 5 May 2017]. However, besides this example, so far there is not a single specimen of students' scholarship applications written in metres found in Sweden. About applications written in metre in early modern Sweden, see more in the following article: Savin, Kristiina, 2018 (forthcoming). *Ach hielp oss i vår nöd!* – versifierade suppliker 1700–1800. In: Arne Jönsson, Valborg Lindgärde, Daniel Möller, eds. *Att dikta för livet, döden och evigheten. Tillfällesdiktning 1500–1800*. [x – x]

length of the other monolingual scholarship applications (which is 240 words on average). The introductory part consists of 15 and the closing part of 8 words. The content part, which is written in metre, therefore consists of 233 words divided between 38 verses so that each line has about six words. In terms of content, it is rather different from the rest of the monolingual applications. The only similarity, however, is the fact that it also comprises allocutions to the rector as well as professors, but clearly expressed only in the introductory clause. Yet, unlike the other applications, instead of repeatedly mentioning the officials of the Academy in the content part, this one consists of a number of deifications and allocutions to Gods as paraphrases to the rector and professors:

/.../ Mortalesq[ue] pia voce saluto DEOS /.../ (cf. Illustration 22).

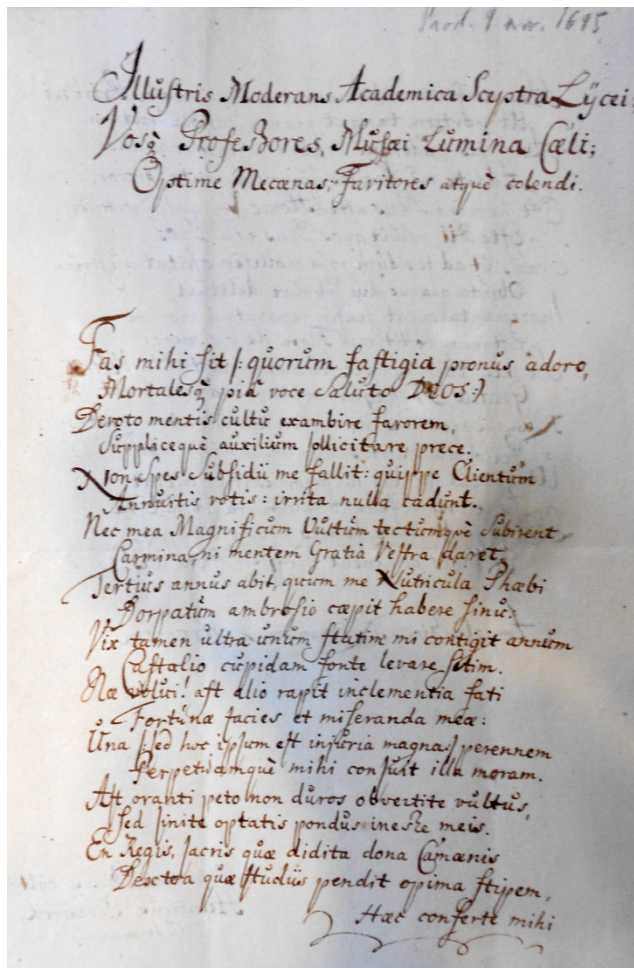


Illustration 22. A monolingual scholarship application in elegiac distichs by Henricus Meurch (Heinrich Mörk) from 1695 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)

As this application is written in metres, it also is much more figurative. For instance, when on a number of occasions in which prose-applications would mention the word *fiscus* (*fiscus Academicus*), in this writing it has been paraphrased instead:

/.../ *Ut portum tangat parva carina ratum* /.../.

Despite the fact that this scholarship application is rather unconventional amongst similar writings, the student was still granted a scholarship, which clearly indicates that deviating from the “more common” form of writings (i.e. using metres), was accepted in the early modern Academy.

Although the majority of the monolingual letters are written exclusively in some vernacular (either in German or Swedish), monolingual scholarship applications, however, are written almost exclusively in Latin and so they can even be considered rather unconventionally written academic letters. In addition, on the basis of this data it is clear that the students’ direct official communication with the Academy tended to be more monolingual and preferably in Latin than in any other language even in the last decade of the seventeenth century. And when taking into account the language change in the constitutions of the academy in 1690, in the student style exercises and textbooks in the 1690s, the remaining six scholarship applications, which are multilingual, are extremely important, showing the first indications of a deviation in the students’ attested linguistic performance.

6.2.3. Monolingual entries in *alba amicorum*

The number of exclusively monolingual entries in *alba amicorum* is 173 out of a complete total of 221, which constitutes as much as 78%. Of the monolingual entries just 12 are extant from the AG period (7%) and the majority – 161 or 93% – from the AGC period. This proportion is an indicator of authors’ preferences for using predominantly a single language within this sub-type of texts – a practice similar to the preceding sub-chapter on scholarship applications.

During the AG period the monolingual entries were written either in Latin (10) or in German (2). As there are over 13 times more entries extant from the AGC period, there were also – similar to letters – more different languages in which the entries were written. Namely, the majority of the entries were written exclusively in Latin (146), followed by French (7), German (6), Italian (1) and Polish (1). As during the *Academia Dorpatensis* five different languages were used in monolingual entries, one might assume that the owners of the albums must have at least to some extent known these languages. Therefore, the entries mostly reflect the linguistic performance of the author as well as the addressee. Yet, there are examples in which the majority of the entries have been written in Latin so that the author himself claimed not to know the other languages at all (cf. Kaju 2011: 88). The dominant role of Latin in the entries is a rather logical

outcome due to the fact that Latin was the central language of education in early modern European universities, and vernaculars were not yet as important in education as the Classical languages (cf. Klose 1988: XI–XII; Kaju 2011: 88).

The fact that there is not a single monolingual entry in Swedish from either the AG or AGC period is rather surprising, especially when comparing the linguistic performance of the texts from this sub-group to monolingual letters (cf. 6.2.1), for instance, in which Swedish was the most frequently used vernacular. From here one might thus propose a hypothesis that the lack of monolingual Swedish entries in *alba amicorum* might refer to the tendency that the entries were supposed to be written either in learned languages or in some rather rarely used modern language (such as Italian, French or even Polish), while the commonly used vernaculars such as Swedish were not used at all or hardly ever as in the case of German.

Entries in the *alba amicorum* are considered as a reflection of both the authors' personal communication as well as erudition. Each entry, in fact, can be considered tripartite comprising usually of (a) a dedication to the owner (either an excerpt from a poem, or a prose sentence, often a proverb) with or without reference to the source, (b) an expanded signature of the author as well as occasionally (c) a *symbolum* that is the author's motto (cf. Kaju 2011: 27). Each part is also clearly visually distinguishable. Yet, unlike the other text types with a tripartite structure, the introductory part of the entries in *alba amicorum* is usually the shortest containing rather often also a quotation, while the closing remarks are, in fact, the longest. The latter parts also comprise original content which is rather formulaic.

Despite the fact that there are not many different text types among monolingual letters, they still represent a number of different types of linguistic performance as shown above in sub-chapters 6.2.1.–6.2.3.

6.3. Multilingual text-units of official and personal communication

Multilingual texts in the division of official and personal communications are texts written in more than one language – in this study written either in Latin and some vernacular(s) or in at least two vernaculars. As all of the text-units within this corpus material are handwritten letters and letter-like items (including student scholarship applications and entries in *alba amicorum*), the frame language (ML) for multilingual texts is mostly a vernacular. For example, predominantly Swedish and/or German, or in some cases some other vernaculars, such as French, Italian, Finnish, Dutch, rather scarcely Spanish or even Polish were used. Unlike the practice occurring within most of the printed multilingual text-units, in which Latin is the matrix (e.g. in financial documents in Chapter 2, and academic disputations in Chapter 4), in handwritten texts Latin is mostly considered the embedded language (EL).

As all the sub-groups of texts in Chapter 6 also comprise texts with multilingual practices, all of them will be studied in more depth in the subsequent sub-chapters. From each (i.e. letters, scholarship applications as well as entries in *alba amicorum*), two rather exemplary texts have been chosen as the subject of more exhaustive comparative case-studies.

6.3.1. Multilingual official and personal letters

6.3.1.1. Quantity, structure and linguistic division of multilingual letters

The total number of extant multilingual official as well as personal letters from the *Academia Dorpatensis* is 1,676, which constitutes over 55% of the complete total of academic letters in this chapter's data. The majority of the multilingual letters – 1,163 – were written during the AGC period, and a little less than half that amount – 513 – during the AG period. Similar to the monolingual letters, the average length of the multilingual letters is about two pages of folio (size) pages. In terms of their structure the multilingual letters are predominantly tripartite consisting of an introductory part, main part and closing part. The first and the last part are also considered paratexts.

As many as 1,621 multilingual letters (i.e. over 97%) are in fact bilingual, of which 509 are from the AG and 1,112 from the AGC period. The following figure (cf. Figure 5) provides a better idea of the linguistic performance of the bilingual letters from both the AG and the AGC period. In different language combinations the language presented in the first place (on the left) is the ML and the one that follows it (after the + sign) represents the EL language.

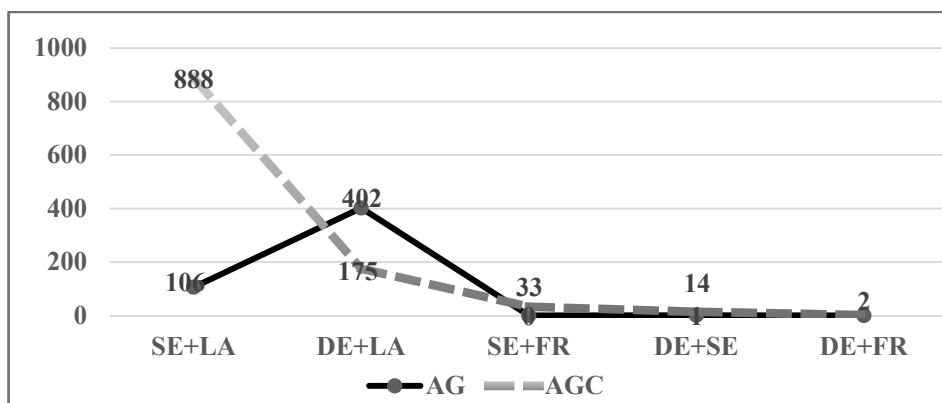


Figure 5. Linguistic overview of the bilingual letters from the AG and AGC periods

The majority of the bilingual letters consist of a Swedish matrix (ML) mixed with some Latin interpolations (106 from the AG and 888 from the AGC period), they are followed by 577 letters with a German matrix and Latin embedding (402 from the AG and 175 from the AGC). Other combinations include mixing Swedish with French (33 letters from the AGC), German with Swedish (one letter from the AG and 14 from the AGC), and German with French (two letters from the AGC period).

In addition there are 54 letters that can be considered trilingual. Similar to the bilingual letters, here too a figure is given (cf. Figure 6) describing the linguistic performance from both the AG and AGC periods. In the first place the matrix language is given, followed by the embedded languages.

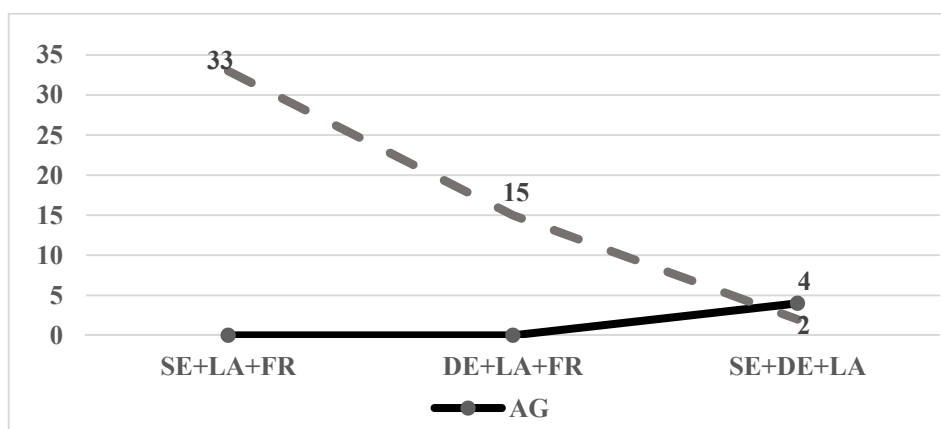


Figure 6. Linguistic overview of the trilingual letters from the AG and AGC periods

The majority of the trilingual letters – 33 – have Swedish as the matrix with some Latin and French interpolations (all extant from the AGC period). In addition, 15 letters, all from the AGC period, contain a German matrix with some Latin and French interpolations, and six letters (four from the AG and two from the AGC period) contain a Swedish matrix with some German and Latin interpolations. In fact, this combination is the only one in which the letters from the AG period exceed the equivalent number from the AGC.

There is also a single letter from the AGC period in which four languages – a German matrix with some Swedish, French and Latin interpolations – are mixed together and can thus be considered a quadrilingual letter. The fact that the tri- as well as the quadrilingual letters are all extant from the AGC period can be explained by the fact that out of the total number of all extant multilingual letters, there are, in fact, more than twice as many letters extant from the second

period of the Academy and that the mixing of many languages is also evident in these letters.²¹³

From the subsequent exhaustive case studies two rather exemplary letters (one from the AG and the other from the AGC period) have been chosen in order to indicate their linguistic performance the best.

6.3.1.2. A comparative case study: typology, structure, length and frequency of code-switching in two multilingual letters from 1655 and 1692

For the following comparative case study two rather exemplary multilingual letters have been chosen, one from the AG and the other from the AGC period. Yet, before presenting the exhaustive case study, general information on the time and date of writing, author and addressees, content, languages and frequency of code-switching in the two letters will be presented.

The first letter was written on 26 June 1655 by the *professor ordinarius* of astronomy and physics (1641–1655) as well as extraordinary professor of jurisprudence (from 1650–1655) Johannes Erics Stiernstråle (Stregnensis)²¹⁴ (1607–1686) who was also the rector of AG in 1652 (cf. Inno 1972: 88; Piirimäe 1982: 223–224).²¹⁵ The letter is addressed to the Consistory of the Academy, and according to Arninck's (1658: 13–14) division, can be categorized under judicial letters being in terms of style as well as content either a letter of accusation (*epistola accusatoria*), expostulation (*epistola expostulatoria*) or complaint (*epistola querulea*). In his letter, professor Stiernstråle denounced one professor of geometry and arithmetic (1644–1655) as well as geometry and astronomy (1655–1656), Joachim Schelenius (1612–1673) for the injustice of receiving equal payment for less work (cf. about J. Schelenius in Inno 1972: 90; Piirimäe 1982: 211–212) (cf. Illustration 23).

²¹³ As there are more letters with different language combinations (incl. tri- and quadrilingual letters) extant from the AGC period, this may be due to the fact that the analogous letters (if they were written at all) from the AG period are not extant. The reason for those language combination proportions as well as variations could, in fact, also be political. Namely, as the role of French was not yet as important in Europe during the AG period (in 1630s and 1640s) as in the AGC period, this could be one cause for the lack of such combinations from the first period of the Academy. On the other hand, as the majority of its officials as well as students during the second period of the Academy were of Swedish origin, it is a rather logical outcome that it should have been used more often than other vernaculars, including in different language combinations.

²¹⁴ He – Stiernstråle – was bestowed the accolade of noblemen in 1652. Before that he was called either as Johann Erics or with an additional toponym Stregnensis – Johann Erics Stregnensis (cf. <https://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnp01229337> [accessed on 15 September 2017]).

²¹⁵ This letter is kept in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm, in fond Livonica II, in vol. 451 (an unpaginated letter).

Protokoll d. 20 Jun. 1655. III.
 Johan Stiernstråle Swar till the 8 öfriga quæla af M. Schellius
 insatte, of af ex Rationibus Quæstor. neq. ex Rationibus Rector. Extrahendo,
 Dock för allmæst Swar till the 6 första, hvilka ännu äro placetia,
 of flyta utaf en förförjagare öfren: men till the 2 sidste för i-till
 M. Schellius Swar: ty om så skall tillgås, så kan ingt in infinitum dubi
 Extrahere, etiam ex rebus Evidentijs, men om frago för här till för:
 rat, dubito: ty sålunda vill ingt alla Rationes of Acta passerade
 i för prima meins Academiæ fundatione in dubium voceras, of att den
 alla quæstiones formen. Men ingt hinner, att en Schellius Man
 i-till är skildes frago ingringa, När Schellius att dubium formen
 af the handlingen, hvilka för många år äro passerade, ty sålunda vill
 of ingt in infinitum quæstiones, of att alla öfren, så länge han för professor
 varit gånge, sålunda dubi hansen movera, till hvilka han i-till, som Ran.
 U. g. hinner hinner han i-till sifan or. Constitutus professor publicus pro
 gradu Magisteriali, tack meo prohibe diffidit? hinner gånge han 1644
 när ingt Rector var, allmæst 7 jänger professor? et Anno 1645, 9 jänger,
 efter om ingt ännu talat of professor gånge. hinner gånge han i-till
 giffit sine diffidit? hinner hinner han i-till in quidam diffidit
 à Studio Confinita, publice i-till defendere fgs iura philosophi professorum,
 ite i-till hinner defendere mathefin iura scientiam philosophicam, ite
 ubi or thefin defendere, rj eller rtt argument resolvere, hinner hinner
 gånge han ex multis in omidiga factis moot ingt? hinner gånge
 iura iordt Academiæ första skadan med hinner omidiga controversijs?
 hinner i-till hinner M. Lidens, att ingt hade borta af hinner Salario
 27 Rll. hvilka dock (salva vena) iura fullkommen, of han fgs i-till
 Controversiis iura borden? hinner gånge han i-till 2 år i-till
 the adon he professoribus omidiga factis moot ingt, hinner dock med re:
 sponsiones skola demonstrare iura nullitates et vinitatum vinitates? etc.
 tales et alias nullas quæstiones, et ipsi, et alij, att proponere possum, men
 (Rall decretum frago jöras, att ingt misse swar, sålunda ingt till
 V. S. Academiæ ~~decisione~~ decision.

i in philo.
 soph. confes.
 quæsto

Illustration 23. A judicial letter by Johannes Erics Stiernstråle (Stregnensis), 1655 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 451)

Stiernstråle's letter is in a folio-format one-page long, rather non-traditional in its structure – a bipartite letter consisting only of a content part and extremely short closing remark, which contains only the name of the author. There is no introductory clause in this letter due to the fact that the first page of it (were the addressee with allocutions should be written) is not extant.

The second letter was written during the first decade of the AGC period, and in fact during its first decade, and therefore in AGCD period, on 7 May 1692 by the Consistory of the Academy to the first fencing master Abraham Chemnitz,

who held this position within the period of 1690–1693 until his death (cf. Piirmäe 1982: 93).²¹⁶ Therefore, both of the letters are in fact examples of academic communication between the Consistory of the Academy and its members – here either a professor or a fencing master. Unlike the previous letter from the AG period, this letter can be categorized under deliberative letters, which due its style and content can, in turn, be considered a mandatory letter (*epistola mandatoria*) (cf. Illustration 24).

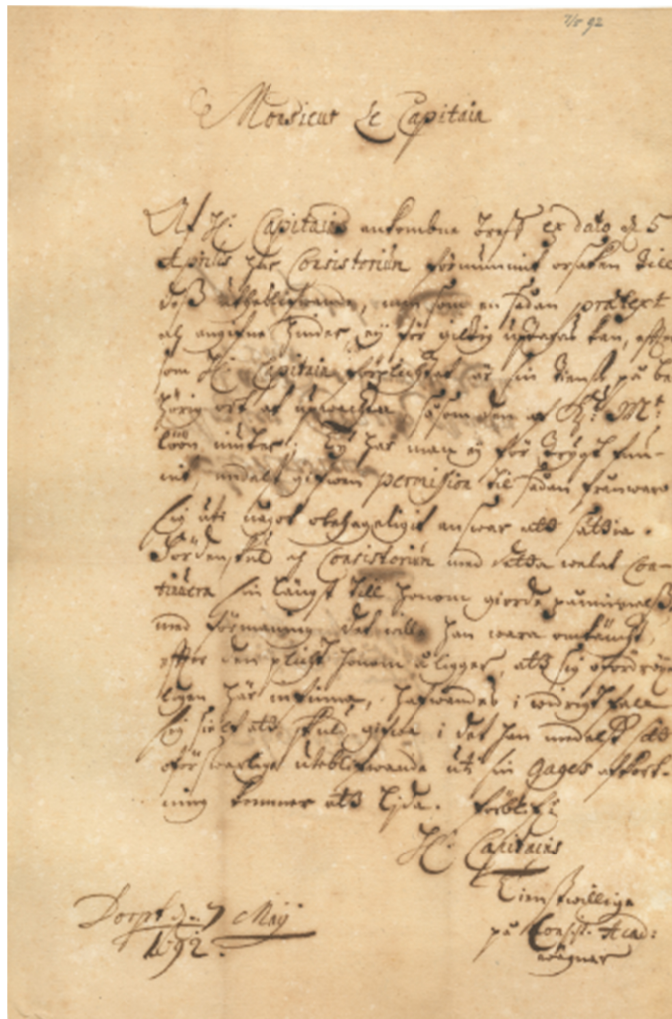


Illustration 24. A mandatory letter from the Academy’s Consistory to Abraham Chemnitz, 1692 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 456)

²¹⁶ The letter from the AGCD period is also kept in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm, in fond Livonica II, in vol. 456 (unpaginated letter).

Like the previous letter, this letter is also written on folio format, but in contrast to the latter it is rather conventional in terms of its structure – being tripartite consisting of a visually distinguishable introductory, content and closing part.

In order to have a more detailed idea of the overall length of the letters, including the length of the different parts of the them as well as the proportion of the vernaculars, the following table (Table 10) comprising initial information about both letters, is given below. In the first column the name of the author (i.e. sender) with the date is given, followed by the addressee of the letters. In the third column, the total number of words is given, which in the following three columns is further sub-divided using the denominators “Intro” (i.e. introductory part), “Content” and “Closing” and each of these also contains a division of “Ver/La” under them referring to the number of vernacular and Latin words within those parts. And finally, the overall proportion of vernaculars within all the letters is given.

Table 10. Multilingual letters from the AG and AGC periods in terms of Latin and vernacular words

Author and date	Addressee	Overall no of words	Intro	Content	Closing	Proportion of VER
			VER/LA	VER/LA	VER/LA	
Johannes Erici Stiernstråle (Stregnensis), June 26, 1655	The Consistory of the Academy	412	-	315 / 95	2 / 0	77%
The Consistory of the Academy, May 7, 1692	Abraham Chemnitz, fencing master	166	26 / 1	123 / 6	7 / 3	94%

The overall length of the first letter is 412 words divided between the content (410 words), and closing remark (two words). As the average number of words in all of the letters from *Academia Dorpatensis* per page is 217 and the overall length is two pages, it means that this letter is longer than most of the letters in terms of word count by 48%. The matrix language of this letter is Swedish (317 words) with a number of Latin interpolations (95 words) and a single additional word in French. Therefore, the proportion of the embedded language interpolations as well as the frequency of code-switching is rather high – app. 23%, which is about one-quarter of the whole letter (of which Latin constitutes as much as 22.8%). As the content is divided between 31 lines, which, in turn, means that on every line there are approximately 13 words, in terms of code-switching every fourth word is in Latin (with a single exception of French). Accordingly, the proportion of vernaculars in this letter is also rather high –

77% of the whole letter constitutes the Swedish matrix, with French 0.2% as the embedded language.

The second letter is remarkably shorter in total length consisting only of 166 words, which is even 30% shorter than the average length of the remaining letters. Like the first letter, this one too contains Swedish (133 words) as the matrix language, but unlike the previous one here the more frequent interpolated vernacular is French (with 24 words) followed by Latin (10 words). Both of the letters can thus be considered trilingual. This letter, however, is divided between 32 lines so that there are nearly five words per line. The introductory part consists of 27 words divided between 10 lines so that each contains approximately three words. The main part – the content – is divided between 18 lines with 129 words altogether so that in each line there has about seven words. The closing part is divided between five lines with 10 words so that each comprise two words. The proportion of vernaculars within this letter is very high – 94%. This, in turn, means that the frequency of code-switching is rather low in this letter – just 6% so that every 16th word can be considered either a Latin or French interpolation to the Swedish matrix.

In fact, the main tendency in multilingual academic letters is to use a vernacular matrix and either Latin or some other vernacular(s) as the embedded language, so that the code-switching is usually intrasentential, and almost exclusively, in the content parts.

6.3.1.2.1. Intrasentential code-switching and congruent lexicalization as characteristics of formulaic linguistic performance in the letters from Johannes Erics Stiernstråle 1655 and the Consistory of the Academy 1692

When analysing exactly how the code-switching occurred within the two selected letters, different parts of them will be discussed separately, starting with the shorter paratext parts (i.e. introductory and closing part). As the first letter written by Stiernstråle in 1655 does not include an introductory part and its closing part consists only of two words (i.e. his name), the discussion starts with the introductory part of the second letter sent by the Consistory of the Academy to the fencing master Abraham Chemnitz in 1692, followed by an analysis of the closing parts, and finally a thorough study of how CS occurs in the content parts of both letters.

The introductory part of the mandatory letter from 1692 comprises 27 words constituting about 18% of the whole letter, or about one-fifth. It starts with a separate passage containing 11 words of which 10 are in Swedish comprising the allocation to the addressee (i.e. to the fencing master, A. Chemnitz). The only Latin interpolation used in this part is marking the date with a month written in Latin:

*/.../d[en] 7. **Maij** 1692 /.../.*

The code-switching here is intrasentential with Swedish as the matrix language and the Latin interpolation as the embedded language.

Rather interestingly, the introduction continues with a 16-word passage written exclusively in French, and centred in the middle of the letter. Namely, it is more polite comprising in addition to the title of the fencing master also twice the allocution “sir” (*monsieur*) and the institution as well as the location of the Academy with the non-traditional complement “royal” (i.e. the Royal Academy of Dorpat or *L’Université royale de Dorpat*). The French addition also incorporates extra information about Chemnitz staying in Narva at the time of sending the letter:

/.../ pour le present a Narva /.../.

These 16 words can be considered a monolingual nonidentical translation of the first mainly Swedish passage. In addition, it is an example of intersentential code-switching between this and the first passage as a whole. The exact type of code-switching is situational, in which the author has alternated from one code (i.e. Swedish matrix) to exclusively another (i.e. to French) so that the linguistic utterance is monolingual, and two codes are also separated by a physical distance – being written as clearly distinctive passages (cf. Blom and Gumperz 1972; Callahan 2004: 5, 17). The only question that remains here is what might have caused such a practice of not only changing language but also the style. Normally, such a change is affected by the change of an addressee/readership; in other words a switch from a bilingual to a monolingual audience. As the majority of all of the professors of the AGC period were of Swedish origin – 22 out of 26 (so that the remaining four were of German origin) – the first addressing of the letter, almost exclusively written in Swedish, might have been written from their point of view (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 90). As the second part was written in French it might have been addressed not to a collective of addressees but to a single one instead. Therefore, as the following content also contains some words and phrases in French, one explanation might be that there was also a French-speaking addressee (i.e. Chemnitz), because such a practice of providing addressing parts with an additional monolingual translation does not seem to be very common amongst the other academic letters from the corpus of multilingual letters from the *Academia Dorpatensis*.

However the only distinction that can be made between different parts is clearly visual – the introductory part is followed by the main part of the letters – the content part, and lastly the closing part, which usually contains allocutions either to the professors or Consistory of the Academy, the time and place when and where the letter was written and the name as well as the title of the author. In the practice of writing letters in either AG or AGC periods, not once does any (linguistic) transition from one part of the letter to another occur. The closing part of the first letter sent by Stiernstråle differs from the main practice of writing closing parts by the fact that it does not contain any further information except his noble name without any titles or additions.

In addition, his last name is written in the Swedish tradition; that is, not as Johannes Erics Stregnensis, but using his Swedish noble name Johannes

Stiernstråle. As there are no additions, such as allocutions or any further information, this closing part itself does not contain any occasions of code-switching and as the matrix language of the content part is Swedish, there are no instances of intersentential code-switching either. The second letter, however, provides rather a more varied closing part for linguistic analysis. All in all it consists of ten words on five lines out of which six are written in Swedish that is also the matrix language in the content part of the letter, three are Latin interpolations and one is in French. The closing part starts with a Swedish word and then switches to the French word *Capitains*, which has the Swedish genitive ending *s* added to it indicating possession. This is followed by a phrase in Latin provided with a Swedish preposition – på *Consistorii Academiae* (in the Consistory of the Academy). And lastly when marking the date the month is written again in Latin. All of those switches as they occur within a sentence are considered intrasentential code-switching. They are also all insertions and follow the scheme A–B–A. Therefore, the French interpolation follows the scheme Swedish-French-Swedish and the Latin additions Swedish-Latin-Swedish. None of the switches appear directly between French and Latin – between embedded language interpolations.

Both of the letters comprise a content part, but differ in terms of the length as well as practice of code-switching in them. The first letter written by professor Stiernstråle in 1655 shows a rather high frequency of code-switching so that within its 410 words as many as 95 (i.e. every fourth word) are in Latin or in one occasion in French. Regardless of the fact that in most of the multilingual handwritten text types the switches are visually distinguishable because Latin and vernaculars use different fonts, in this letter, however, gothic handwriting in cursive is used for both languages, which clearly deviates from most of the other multilingual academic letters. Therefore, in this letter it is rather difficult simply by looking at the letter to distinguish any occasions of language change whatsoever.

Within the entire content, in fact, there are only three lines (4, 11, 17) in which not a single EL word occurs, in all the others there are at least one in each. Additionally, the very last sentence of the content part of the letter is written exclusively in embedded language – the first three words in Latin and the last one in French. This is therefore the only place in which code-switching occurs between the two embedded languages and can be considered an alternation; in other words, the switch does not occur between the Swedish matrix and Latin in which after the embedded language it switches back to the matrix, but to another vernacular instead. For instance:

/.../ [30] *ställer iagh till* / [31] *V[enerabilis].S[enatus]. Academici decision./.../.*

Here the last Latin word *Academici* is in singular genitive case referring to possession (of the Consistory of the Academy) due to the following noun, which has to be in nominative case – *decision* (a decision); in other words, the decision of the Academy's Consistory. In addition, two lines (15 and 29), are

almost exclusively written in Latin with the exception of a single word in each line written in Swedish.

The shortest Latin interpolations in the letter contain one word (12 times) and the longest of 8–11 words (occurring twice). As all the switches take place within sentences the CS is exclusively intrasentential. In addition, all the switches from Latin are congruent with the Swedish ML and thus congruent lexicalization is also the main practice used there. Such practice is used in a number of places in the letter. For instance, the Latin plural nominative word *disputationes* is put together with a congruent word in Swedish; that is, the plural form of the possessive pronoun *sina* (their own disputations). The analogous practice has been used elsewhere as well – the plural nominative case of the Latin word *quaestio* (question) – *quaestiones* – is used with the Swedish word *alla* (all) – *alla quaestiones*. Latin prepositions are also used with Swedish words. E.g. Latin preposition *de* has an addition of Swedish word *andra* – *de andra* (about the others).

The two analysed letters are not as full of laudatory allocutions to the Consistory, Rector or the professors of the Academy as the scholarship applications. In fact there is just one single allocution within the letter to the Consistory of the Academy, and it is written in the very last line – *Venerabilis Senatus Academici*.

The word stem used most frequently within the letter come from different forms of the noun *dubium* (doubt) as well as the verb form *dubito* (I doubt) – this occurs throughout lines 5–13 altogether in five places in either as part of syntactically complete Latin phrase or provided with Swedish adjectives. For example, in lines 5, 7 and 8 the expressions are given fully in Latin:

/.../ in infinitum dubium /.../, /.../ dubito /.../, and /.../ in dubium /.../.

In the remaining two examples, the word stem *dubi-* is provided also in Swedish:

/.../ att dubium formerar /.../
(to perform suspiciously),

and

/.../ otaliga dubia /.../
(countless amount of doubts).

In the last example, the plural form of the Swedish adjective is congruent with the plural accusative case of the Latin noun *dubium*.

The almost sentence-long insertions in Latin, on the other hand, are in all cases interrupted with some Swedish words and full ideas are still given in Latin. For example, in line 29 the following sentence has been written:

/.../ [29] *Tales et alias multas quaestiones, et ipsi, et alij, proponere possum.*
men [30] *skall decretum strax göras, att iagh maste swarad, ställer iagh till* [31]
V[enerabilis] S[enatus] Academici decision /.../
 (*I can ask from myself and to the others such and many other analogous*
questions, but as soon as I get the reply from the venerable Academy, that I have
to give answers, I will do it.).

As there are a number of examples like this in which the matrix language and the embedded language are mixed together so that they are absolutely congruent, it surely shows the author's cognizant choice of using code-switching as well as his rich knowledge in both languages.

The frequency of code-switching in the second letter, however, is much lower. Within the 129 words in the content section there are only six words written in Latin and eight in French, which each constitutes about 5%, and altogether about 10% of the whole content. This, in turn, means that in the second letter every tenth word is an interpolation to the Swedish matrix text either from Latin or French. All the switches are, in fact, visually distinguishable due to using different fonts for the Latin and French interpolations – antika upright handwriting –, and gothic in cursive for Swedish matrix.

Amongst all of the 14 embedded words the longest interpolation contains of three words (used twice), and all the other interpolations in the content part are a single word switches. Here in this letter all the switches follow the scheme A–B–A and can thus be considered as insertions, and the code-switching is thus intrasentential within the sentence with just one exception. Namely, the first sentence of the letter that is written exclusively in French is an allocution to the captain – /.../ *Monsier Le Capitain.* /.../ that is congruent with the Swedish word from the following line, and the second one refers to the date in Latin: /.../ *Ex dato d[ie]* /.../. In fact the most often used word within the embedded languages is the French *capitain* used three times. In the second line this word is congruent with the Swedish matrix, but as an addition the Swedish genitive *s* has been added to it showing the possession of the captain, and the Swedish preposition *af* in the beginning of the sentence intensifies this function:

/.../ *Af H[erres] Capitains* /.../ (from mister captain's).

Here the apposition *Herr* has been used in order to refer to the French *Monsieur* that was used in the first line. There is just one other example of fully congruent lexicalization within the letter used again between the Swedish matrix and French embedding. In line 17, the French noun *gages* has been added to the Swedish possessive pronoun *sin*. The other interpolations used within the matrix there are separate terms with no occasions of congruent lexicalizations whatsoever. In line 2, a rather interesting form occurs – *praetext*. As its font differs from the gothic font used for the matrix language, it cannot be Swedish. It is not a Latin form due to the fact that it should be longer – *praetextum* – and no indications of being an abbreviated form (i.e. *praetext[um]*) are given. The equivalent form in early modern French is supposed to be *pretext* and an archaic

form in German – *Prätext* - but here it seems the author has used the Latin ligature *ae* instead of *e* or *ä*.²¹⁷ Therefore, the author might as well be using either a French or German form of this word in a rather unconventional way and in antiqua.

As in this letter different terms are mostly used as embedded languages, the linguistic performance is also rather formulaic. Despite the fact that this letter is shorter in terms of the content part in comparison to the AG letter, it still shows multilingual practices within sentences and, similar to Stiernstråle's letter, can be considered trilingual.

To sum up the case study: the main tendency in multilingual academic letters is to use a vernacular matrix and either Latin or some other vernacular(s) as the embedded language; therefore, the code-switching is usually, and almost exclusively in the content part, intrasentential. As the length of the introductory parts varies from letter to letter, those with longer introductions might occasionally consist of several sentences and thus the code-switching might be intersentential instead. The other main practice used in letters was congruent lexicalization.

6.3.2. Multilingual scholarship applications

6.3.2.1. Quantity, content, structure, length and linguistic performance of multilingual scholarship applications

From all the student scholarship applications that are extant from the AGCD period (i.e. 1690s), six are multilingual constituting just about 3% of the whole corpus (i.e. 183 applications).²¹⁸ Those six applications were all written in a vernacular matrix – predominantly in Swedish (in five applications) and once in German, and all included Latin interpolations as embeddings. As no other languages besides Latin were interpolated to the vernacular matrix, all of the multilingual applications are bilingual and can according to their authors, writing time as well as matrix language be presented as follows: (1) Andreas Straethovius, application from 8 August 1691, Swedish matrix, (2) Petrus Siöström, application from 19 December 1691, Swedish matrix, (3) Petrus Wilhelm Räschau, application from 19 August 1693, German matrix, (4) Arvidus Röriling, application from 5 December 1694, Swedish matrix, (5) Israel Swedman / Elias Swedmarck, application from 5 February 1696, Swedish matrix, and (6) Abraham Carstenius, application from 25 February 1698,

²¹⁷ For a French equivalent of *praetext* see in Ambrosius Calepinus, 1681, *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarii octolinguis: altera pars...* Lugduni, p. 247 (<http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=drucke%2Fkb-175-2&pointer=260>); and for German: <http://www.duden.de/suchen/dudenonline/praetext> [accessed 1 October 2017].

²¹⁸ All applications belong to the catalogue held in the Swedish National Archives (Stockholms Riksarkivet) named Livonica II and are found in volume 471 “Ansökningar” (applications). None of the applications are paginated.

Swedish matrix.²¹⁹ Amongst all of the scholarship applications, not one was written exclusively in a vernacular language without any Latin interpolations. Three applicants out of those six who used language(s) other than Latin as ML in their applications asked not just for a scholarship but also for an increase in its amount (Straethovius, Siöström, Carstenius).

Out of 183 applications, as many as 171 (i.e. 93% of all the applicants) were accepted. Students who got better results on their exams and were also from the lower classes of society were more likely to have such applications accepted. As all of the multilingual applications were accepted, it clearly shows that mixing two languages and thus deviating from the more traditional way of writing did not exclude students from getting scholarships. Four out of the six students had written earlier applications entirely in Latin during the first decade of the AGC period. Räschau and Carstenius had both applied twice and Straethovius once with Latin applications, and all were accepted. Only Siöström had previously in November 1691 submitted a Latin application that was declined. In fact, Siöström was also the only applicant out of those six who was not exactly granted a scholarship, but got funding from the academy's "endowment fund" (i.e. *fiscus studiosorum* or *cassa pauperum*).²²⁰ In addition, no student translated their exclusively Latin-written applications word-for-word into vernaculars in order to use them as basis for multilingual scholarship applications either, and so all of the multilingual applications can be considered the students' original writings.

Regardless of the language of the applications and their year of submission, their content, writing style and structure are similar. All are full of laudatory allocutions to contemporary individuals. None of the applications included any allocutions to muses or mythological figures nor included any passages from classical Latin or Christian texts, which was typical practice for the other genres engaged in by the students at that time. Every applicant mentioned his social status at least once, and living in poverty seems to have been preferable. For example, Siöström asks for an endowment due to the fact that he did not get a scholarship, and thus, in turn, could not return to the academy until he received a grant and was able to leave the countryside. One student (Straethovius), for

²¹⁹ All of the applicants but one were students of the AGCD and were matriculated as follows: (1) Andreas Straethovius was matriculated in September 1690, was a Swede from Småland, studied philosophy (cf. Tering 1984: 308, entry no 1185); (2) Petrus Siöström was matriculated in October 1691, was also a Swede from Östergötland, student of theology (cf. *Ibidem* 320, entry no 1258); (3) Petrus Wilhelmus Räschau was matriculated on 18 July 1691, was from Ösel (present day Saaremaa), Livland (cf. *Ibidem* 318, entry no 1244); (4) Arvidus Röring, matriculated in October or November of 1690, was a Swede from Göteborg, studied philosophy (cf. *Ibidem* 311, entry no 1206); (5) Israel Swedman the author of the application, a landlord in Livland, was an uncle to a Swedish student Elias Swedmarck, matriculated on 1 March 1692, who was a student of philosophy (cf. *Ibidem* 324, entry no 1278); (6) Abraham Carstenius was matriculated on 9 August 1695, was from Vyborg, Carelia, studied philosophy (cf. *Ibidem* 338, entry no 1356).

²²⁰ The endowment fund collected its money from the students, which means that every student of the academy had to make a deposit of six marks when matriculating into the academy (cf. Piirimäe 1982: 169).

example, vows in his application to the rector that if his application should be granted, he will not leave the university before being promoted.

In terms of their structure, the multilingual scholarship applications are rather similar to letters as well as monolingual applications in being tripartite. In all of them, language mixing between the ML and EL can also be distinguished visually;²²¹ in other words, due to paleographical practice, different scripts for Latin and vernaculars were used, indicating the conscious use of the languages (cf. Schendl 2002: 47). Therefore, scholarship applications consist of a visually distinguishable introductory part with allocutions to the addressee, content part, as well as closing part.

Despite the similar content and tripartite structure of the applications, it is, however, remarkable how much the length of the mono- and multilingual scholarship applications differ. The average length of all of the monolingual scholarship applications was one to two pages with an average of 240 words per application.²²² The corresponding average length of multilingual applications in words was considerably larger – 303 words per application. The lengthiest is an application with a German matrix – 597 words – and the shortest is one of the Swedish texts (with 153 words).

For the following case study, two scholarship applications have been chosen – one written in 1693 by Räschau that uses a German matrix, and the other using a Swedish matrix was written in 1696 by Israel Swedman on behalf of his nephew – an AGC student Elias Swedmarck.

6.3.2.2. A comparative case study: length, structure and frequency of code-switching in the multilingual scholarship applications by Petrus Wilhelm Räschau 1693 and Elias Swedmarck 1696

The first application under consideration here contains German as the matrix language and was written on 19 August 1693 by a student of the AGCD, Petrus Wilhelm Räschau, and is addressed to the professors and the rector of the Academy (i.e. to the members of the Consistory of the Academy). This application, as with all other scholarship applications, can be categorized under deliberative letters and in terms of type it is a petition letter (*epistola petitoria*). In terms of content, it follows the pattern all other applications do – its aim is to be pitiful, to point out the applicant's financial difficulties and urgent need for a scholarship. Namely, Räschau not only points to his own financial difficulties, he even claims that his family was broken due to the reduction of the manor lands, adding that he was the oldest of 12 children and barely owned any possessions.

²²¹ That is visual pragmatics due whereby the Latin written parts (or the entire text-units written in Latin) in the text-units are usually more calligraphic.

²²² The shortest scholarship applications were about 100 words long when, on the other hand, the length of the longest writings were nearly 600 words. In fact, the longest application was one of the multilingual applications written by Carstenius in 1698 (with a preference for Swedish as the vernacular).

And, unlike the other applications, he also adds the sum he needs as a grant – 20 thalers – which was also the lowest scholarship given in the AGC (cf. Illustrations 25–26).

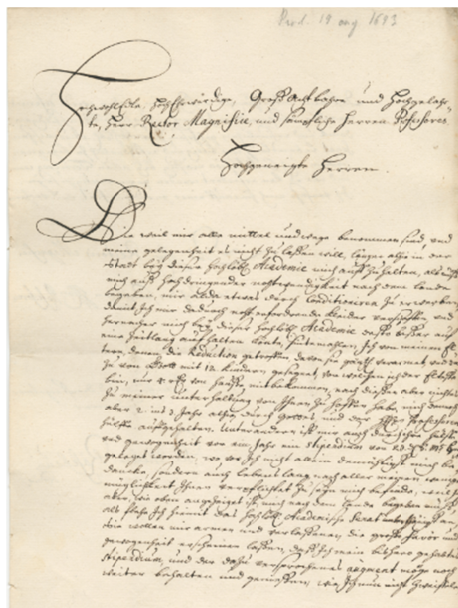


Illustration 25. First page of the multilingual scholarship application by Petrus Wilhelm Räschau, 1693 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)

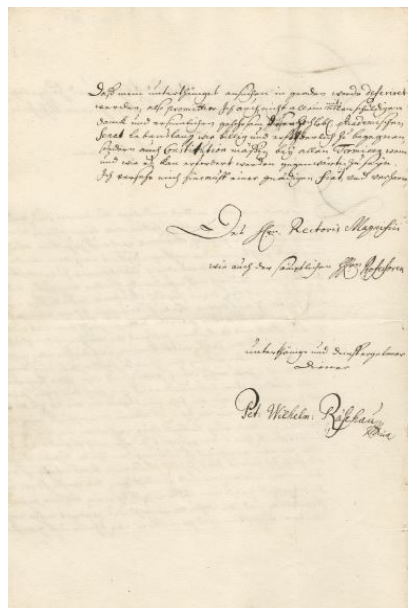


Illustration 26. Verso of the multilingual scholarship application by Petrus Wilhelm Räschau, 1693 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)

In terms of structure it is tripartite consisting of visually distinguishable parts – an introduction, the content and a closing part in a folio-format letter-style text. The second application was written on 5 February 1696 on behalf of one of the students of Swedish origin, Elias Swedmarck, by his uncle, Israel Swedman, and was also addressed to the professors and the rector of the Academy. The reason why this application was not written by the applicant was that until that time, Swedmarck's uncle had paid for his studies, but due to economic difficulties he could not continue funding his nephew's studies (and so the only way for him to pursue his studies was to apply for a scholarship provided by the academy). Similar to the other scholarship applications it is also a petition letter, tripartite in terms of structure and in folio format. Therefore, when taking into account the structure, content as well as the aim of the applications, they are clearly rather typical representatives of the text-units in this sub-genre. (cf. Illustrations 27, 28.)

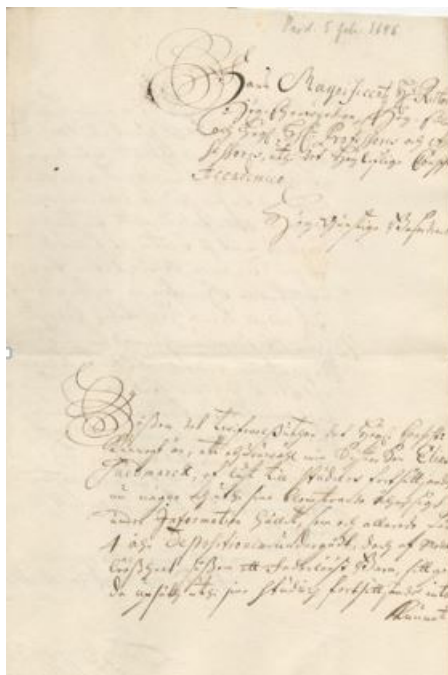


Illustration 27. First page of the multilingual scholarship application by Elias Swedmarck, 1696 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)

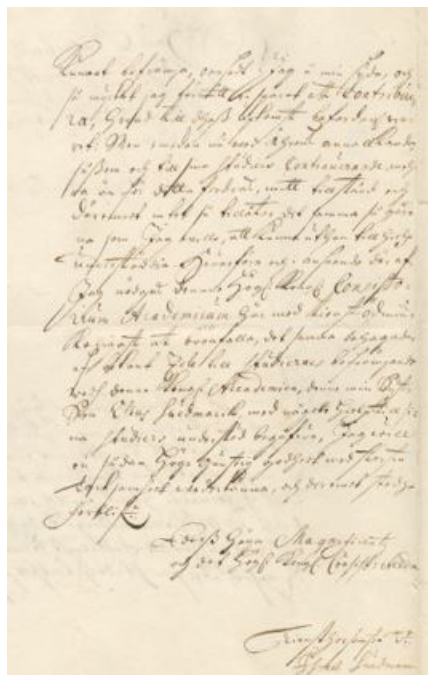


Illustration 28. Verso of the multilingual scholarship application by Elias Swedmarck, 1696 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)

In the following table (Table 11), an overview of the linguistic performance of vernaculars and Latin in different parts of the selected applications is given. In the first column, the author and date of the application is given, followed by the addressee. The third column has the total number of words, and in the following three columns this is further divided into sub-totals for the “Intro” (i.e. introductory part), “Content” and “Closing”, each containing entries for “Ver/La” referring to vernacular and Latin word counts in those parts. Finally, the overall proportion of vernaculars within the whole text-units is presented.

The total length of the first scholarship application, written in 1693, is 328 words, which is 8% longer than the average length of multilingual scholarship applications (i.e. 303 words). They are divided between 40 lines so that each line contains eight words on average. The introductory part, which comprises 14 words altogether, is divided between three lines so that each has about five words. Eleven words are written in a German matrix and three (27%) are Latin interpolations. The content part, which is also the most voluminous, comprises 295 words divided between 31 lines so that each has about nine words. Within its German matrix there are just three Latin interpolations constituting about 1% of the whole content, and thus code-switching occurs after every 98 words indicating a rather low frequency of code-switching. In the closing part, how-

ever, which comprises 15 words (27%), the frequency of the code-switching is the highest – basically every fourth word is a Latin interpolation. As can be seen from the last column of the table, the overall proportion of vernaculars within this letter is rather high – 97%.

Table 11. Latin and vernacular word counts for exemplary multilingual scholarship applications from the AGC period

Author and date	Addressee	Overall no of words	Intro	Content	Closing	Pro-portion of VER
			VER/LA	VER/LA	VER/LA	
Petrus Wilhelm Räschau, August 19, 1693	The professors and rector of the Academy	328	11 / 3	292 / 3	15 / 4	97%
Israel Swedman / Elias Swedmarck, February 5, 1696	The professors and rector of the Academy	221	13 / 6	187 / 3	9 / 3	94%

The second letter, on the other hand, is remarkably shorter consisting of 221 words. Compared to the average length of all the multilingual scholarship applications this one is 82 words shorter or shorter by 28%. It has 37 lines so that each line has about six words. The introductory part is slightly longer than the previous letter – 19 words, so that the Swedish matrix comprises 13 and Latin embeddings 6 words (i.e. about 32%). They are divided between six lines so that in every line there are approximately three words. The content part consists of 190 words of which as many as 187 are in Swedish (i.e. about 98%), and three in Latin (2%). They are divided between 27 lines so that each line has about seven words. The frequency of code-switching is rather low, but unlike Räschau's letter, the Latin words in this application occur every 63 words. The closing part of this letter is in fact shorter than in the previous letter with a total of 12 words, where nine are written in the Swedish matrix and three in Latin. There are four lines, and so three words in each. The proportion of the vernacular, like the German matrix letter, is very high – 94%.

Despite the fact that the proportion of code-switching in both of the studied scholarship applications is rather low, they still deviate from the overall monolingual practice of writing such letter items by the fact that they are still open to code-switching and language change.

6.3.2.2.1. Intrasentential code-switching, congruent lexicalisation and morphological borrowings in the formulaic allocutions to the members of the Academy and in the usage of verbs

Despite the overall low proportion of code-switching, each part of the exemplary applications still comprise some examples. I start the comparative analysis with the paratext parts – first of all, the introductory part followed by the closing part, and finally the analysis of code-switching in the content part will be given.

The introductory and closing parts written in scholarship applications in the 17th century *Academia Dorpatensis* all seem to follow a similar pattern – they are all full of laudatory adjectives as supplements preceeding the addressee (i.e. the rector, professors and other members of the Academy, i.e. to the Consistory of the Academy), and are thus the best reflectors of formulaic language. Yet, none of these formulae are copied from another application or even from a previous application written by the same author, and therefore they all differ from one another in some respects. The introductory parts of the applications consist of a number of allocutions to different members of the Academy. In the application written in German, the introduction is shorter than the Swedish application (number 1 below stands for the introduction from the German application and number 2 for the Swedish):

- (1) /.../ HochwohlEdle, HochEhrwürdige, Großachtbahre und Hochgelahrte, / Herr **Rector Magnifice**, und sämptliche herren **Professores** / Hochgeneigte Herren /.../.
- (2) /.../ H[an]s **Magnificent[ia]** H[err] **Rector**, / Hög-Ehrwördige, Högh-Edle/ och Högl[ärde] H[errar] **Professores** och **Assessores**, uthi det Höghloflige **Consist[orio]** / **Academico** / HögGunstige befordrar[na] /.../.

In both of the clauses, despite the ML, the rector allocution is used with different variations. In example 2 the conventional word *Dominus* has been substituted with the equivalent apposition *Herr*, and to the more conventional allocution – *Magnificentia* – the Swedish personal pronoun *Hans* (His) has been added. In the second one, however, the rector is referred to as *Herr Rector Magnifice* (Magnificent Rector). In the first example a vocative case of the adjective *Magnificus* is used. Eventhough the word order and part of speech in the first allocutions of the examples differs, the main idea is the same – to start an application with the allocution to the most important man in the Academy – the rector.

In both of the examples, allocutions to the professors are also made. In the German application the plural nominative/vocative case of the word *professores* is preceded by the word *Herren* (Misters) and *Herrar* (Misters) in the Swedish matrix example. In those two examples congruent lexicalization is evident – both the Swedish as well as the German plural nominative noun referring to misters (either *herrar* or *herren*) follows the Latin noun also in plural nominative/vocative form (*professores*).

In some cases professors might be substituted by the word *Assessores* (assessors).²²³ Here in the first one it has actually been used in connection with the word *professores* referring to the both, while in the second application this allocation has been skipped. The first application also mentions the Consistory of the Academy using the fixed term *Consistorio Academico*. Often, especially in either letters or applications, this term is also preceded by the Swedish word *Konglige* (Royal). On this occasion, however, the adjective *Höghloflige* (highly venerable) is used. All of the switches in both of the applications can be considered intrasentential.

When drawing on the concept of Rutten and Van der Wal, all such rector-professor allocutions can be considered matters of deification (cf. Van der Wal & Rutten 2013: 52–53). In the context of student scholarship applications it means that the person or persons (i.e. rector and/or professors) most referred to in the opening or ending clauses were the intended readers of the applications, on whom the financial support as a blessing for the students depended. As all of those allocutions show the coexistence of vernaculars and Latin, they can even be considered as examples of prefabricated formulaic language.

Similar to the introductory parts, the closing parts also use a number of vernacular-allocutions to address either the rector, the professors-assessors, or the Consistory of the Academy once more:

- (1) /.../ Des H[erren] *Rectoris Magnifici* / wie auch der sämptlichen H[erren] Professoren / unterthänige und dienstergebener / diener / Pet[rus] Wilhelm Räschau / *Manu Propria*. /.../
- (2) /.../ EdersHöga *Magnificent[iae]* / och / det Högl[ärde] Kongl[lige] *Consist[orij] Academ[ici]* / Tienstskyldige tienare, Israel Swedman. /.../

In both examples, the rector allocation is bipartite consisting of either a vernacular adjective and a noun (*Magnificentia*) or the word *rector* with an adjective (*Magnificus*). In fact, the first application provides a good example of how the matrix language determines the inflection of the embedded language. Namely, the Latin genitive case *Rectoris Magnifici* is congruent with the German apposition *Des Herren*, also in the genitive case. In the second application, similar to its introductory part, an allocation to the Consistory is used in the closing part.

The only difference is in the usage of the preceeding adjective – in this case the word *Konglige* (Royal) is used. Räschau finishes his application with a Latin phrase – *manu propria* – referring to the fact that the application was written as well as signed by himself as its author. The reason why such an addition is missing from Swedman’s application is the fact that his application was written for him but not by him.

As seen from the analysis of letters (in sub-chapter 6.3.1.2), especially the letter of 1655, the amount of code-switching can vary from a few to about 25%

²²³ Here the term assessors refers to the members of the Consistory of the Academy, i.e. professors who usually evaluated the applications.

of the letter. As scholarship applications, on the other hand, are predominantly monolingual letter-like items among which the six multilingual applications are a rather unconventional sub-group, it is a rather logical outcome that the content parts of those two applications do not reflect a large amount of embedded words. In fact, both of the applications despite their overall length, comprise in their content part just three words as Latin interpolations. Swedman-Swedmarck's application comprises allocutions to the Consistory – a practice used in all parts of his application. Once in the first line of the content he refers to the Consistory as *Höghlige Consistorium* (venerable Consistory) skipping the word “royal”. On the second occasion, he uses a two-word expression in the middle of the application – *Konglige Consistorium Academicum*.

In the content part of the first German application, the type of interpolations is the same – on three occasions Latin verb forms have been used within the German matrix. The first switch is the most interesting one:

/.../ *Ich versehe mich hierauff einer gnädigen **fiat**, und verharre.* /.../

This is a good example of how the Latin subjunctive form of the verb *fieri* (“to make”) has been used instead of a possible substantivated verb in the German matrix. This usage of words, especially of a substantivated Latin verb, clearly refers to the objective of the writing. In addition, *fiat* carries the direct message of receiving the scholarship taken from the divine-like rector and professors (cf. Vulgata Genesis 1,3 *Fiat lux...*).

In the second and third case (in the last line of the application), the ML inflected endings (i.e. inflectional morphemes) have been added to the Latin verb stem. For example, to the stem of the Latin third conjugation of the verb *promitt-ere* (“to let go”), instead of the Latin ending *-o*, in the first-person singular, the syllable *-ir*, which is in fact the infinitive ending from the French intermediate step *promettre*, and German equivalent inflectional ending *e* has been added. A similar practice occurs with the word *deferiret*: instead of conjugating the verb like the Latin irregular verb *deferre* (“carry off”) into the third-person singular as *defert*, the author has conjugated the verb like the German foreign word as *deferiret*, using the French intermediation, infinitive *deferer*:

/.../ *Daß mein unterthäniges aufsuchen in gnaden werde **deferiret** werden, also promittire Ich auch /.../.*²²⁴

According to Myers-Scotton (1992: 23), the last two examples can, in fact, be designated morphological borrowings, which are considered to be a type of code-switching that occurs when one language borrows a morpheme from another language. Here, Latin word stems were mixed with German endings.

²²⁴ Cf. Klara Hechtenberg, 1904. *Fremdwörterbuch des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Hechtenberg, pp. 44 and 108 (cf. <https://archive.org/details/fremdwörterbuch00hechuoft> [accessed 1 October 2017]).

6.3.3. Multilingual entries in *alba amicorum* – inter- and intrasentential code-switching in bi- to sextalingual entries

6.3.3.1. Quantity, structure, and linguistic performance of multilingual entries in *alba amicorum*

Out of all of the extant entries in *alba amicorum*, 48 or about 22% are multilingual consisting of at least two languages. The majority – 41 or 85% – of the multilingual entries are extant from the AGC period, and seven from the AG period. As there is quite a remarkable number of different entries from authors with different linguistic backgrounds, it is rather logical that there are as many as eight different language combinations used in writing multilingual entries. Of these, as many as six are bilingual, one is tri- and one even sextalingual.

From the AG period six out of the seven examples were bilingual, consisting mainly of learned languages. On three occasions Latin and Greek were mixed together so that Latin was the matrix language and Greek the embedded language. Twice Latin and Hebrew and once Latin and German were mixed. In the only trilingual entry from the AG period, Latin, German and Italian were all used.

The majority of the multilingual language combinations from the AGC period were also between the learned languages: Latin and Greek (23 entries) as well as Latin and Hebrew (7). Besides seven text-units in Latin and German, Latin and Finnish (1), Latin and Polish (1) and Latin and Italian (1) were also used just once. In the only sextalingual entry in which Latin, Spanish, French, Dutch, German and Swedish were mixed together, each language was used in one or two lines of an entry. This entry represents, in fact, also the only one in the *alba amicorum* in which Swedish was used.

In terms of structure, the multilingual entries follow the same scheme as the monolingual – they are mostly tripartite, so that the introductory part is the shortest or might be missing; it is followed by the main part – the content part, mostly a poem; and the closing part comprised an expanded signature from the author with the time and place of writing.

For the following exhaustive case study, a bilingual entry written during the AGC, in 1701, and a trilingual one from the AG period, written in 1633 have been chosen. Those examples have been selected due to the fact that they both comprise a learned language (Latin) and either one or two vernaculars, indicating the usage of code-switching. Both of them will thus be analysed in greater depth in the following sub-chapters.

6.3.3.2. A comparative case study: structure, characteristics and frequency of code-switching in the multilingual entries in the *alba amicorum* from Friedrich Menius 1633 and Christophorus Donnerhaak 1701

One of the very first entries in *alba amicorum* from the academicians is the entry written on 27 December 1633 by the AG professor of history and anti-

quities (1632–1636) Friedrich Menius for the album of Adam Olearius in a form of a poem.²²⁵ This entry is also going to be analysed as the first entry within the following case study. In terms of structure, it is tripartite consisting of an introductory part that is, in fact his *symbolum* (i.e. motto), and the following content part – the poem itself – is an extension of his motto. The typical *super symbolo* poem was written in Latin in elegiac distichs and did not exceed two lines. Yet, in some entries where such a practice was used, the extension might have been longer as well, as in the case of Menius (cf. Viiding 2011: 235). The last part of the entry is rather formulaic, consisting of the author's expanded signature, his title as well as the time of writing. However unlike the general practice of writing those entries, this one does not include a dedication to the album's owner nor any notions of praising the owner either, but it rather praises the author of the entry – Menius himself (also referred to in the closing part where his title is given with laudatory adjectives). Therefore, in terms of type, this entry as an individual letter-like item belongs to the subgroup of demonstrative letters, and due to its style and content is surely a laudative letter (*epistola laudatoria*). In its content part, the author explains the main message behind his motto, which also begins the entry – *difficile at possibile* (difficult but possible) – explaining the difficulties of becoming educated as well as spreading education amongst the uneducated (cf. Illustration 29).

The second entry is extant from the AGCP period, written on 13 May 1701 by the student of theology, Christophorus Donnerhaak, from Greiz Germany (cf. Tering 1984: 359, entry no 1475).²²⁶ Unlike Menius' entry, this one is bipartite in terms of structure, without any introductory allocutions, and starts directly with the content part. The content is a poem written in four lines so that the first two are in Latin and the following two an exact translation into German. The last part is rather formulaic and exclusively monolingual written in Latin, comprising the expanded signature of the author with the time and place of making the entry. Unlike Menius' entry, this one in fact does include a dedication to the album's owner in the expanded signature part. In terms of type, this entry as a whole as a letter-like item can also be categorized under deliberative letters and due its content it is most likely a dedicatory letter (*epistola dedicatoria*). In its content the author reminds the addressee of the three most important things in life – faith in God, a loyal friend and a beautiful maiden (cf. Illustration 30).

²²⁵ The copy of the original entry is held in the Estonian National Archives in fond 5383.1.24.

²²⁶ Adam Andreae's *album amicorum* is also kept in the Estonian National Archives in fond 1394.1.99.

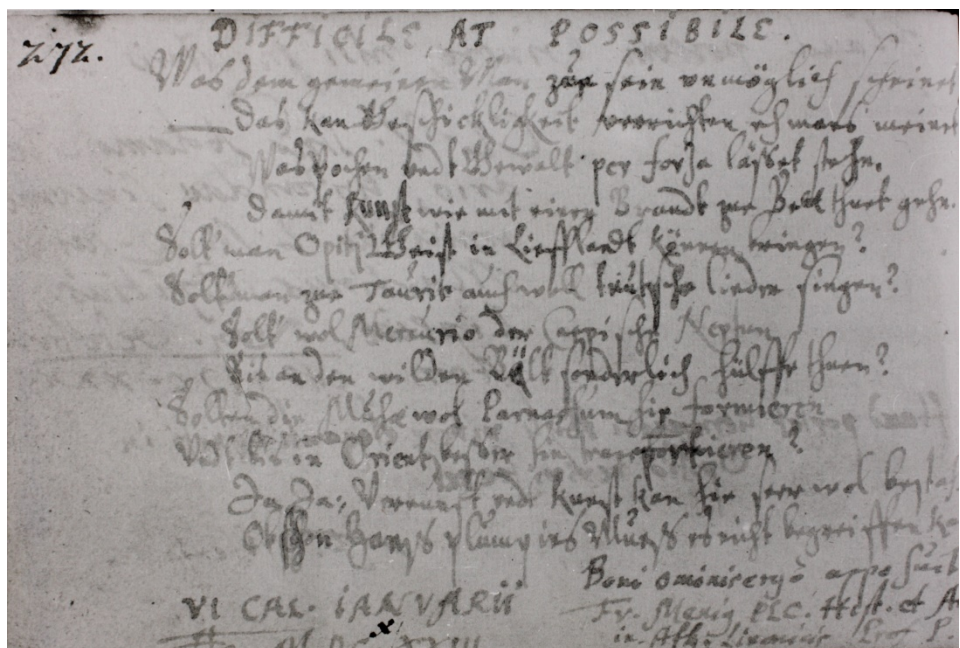


Illustration 29. Friedrich Menius' multilingual entry in Adam Olearius' *album amicorum* from 1633 (EAA.5383.1.24)

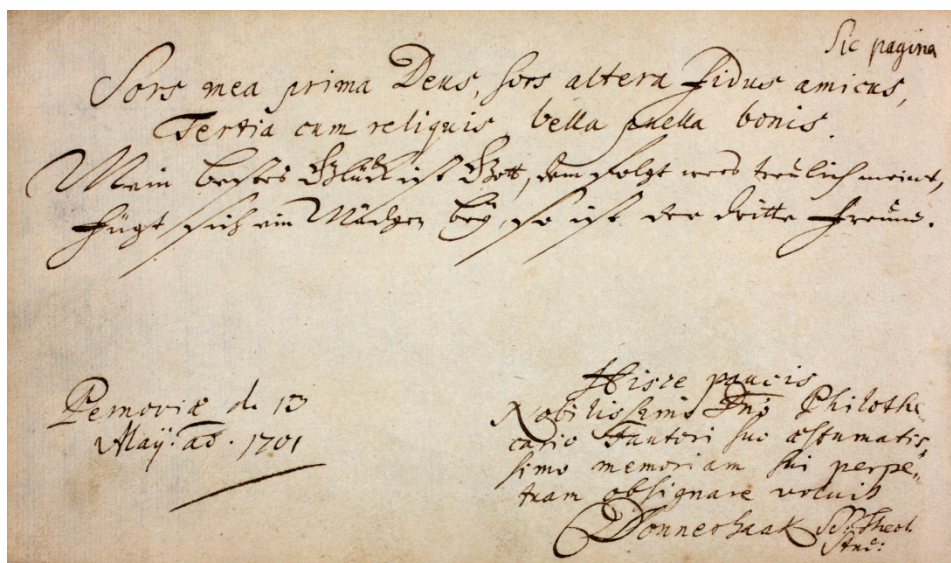


Illustration 30. Christophorus Donnerhaak's bilingual entry from 1701 in Adam Andreae's *album amicorum* (EAA.1394.1.99)

In order to have a better idea of the linguistic performance as well as diversity, including code-switching of both of the entries, the data is presented in a table (cf. Table 12) in which also the linguistic variation in different parts of the entries is also given (using the same principles as in tables 1 and 2 in sub-chapters 6.3.1.2 and 6.3.2.2).

Table 12. Vernacular and Latin words in multilingual entries in *alba amicorum* from the AG and AGC periods

Author and date	Addressee	Overall no of words	Intro/motto	Content	Closing	Pro-portion of VER
			VER/LA	VER/LA	VER/LA	
Friedrich Menius, January 6, 1633	Adam Olearius	124	0 / 3	95 / 4	0 / 23	75%
Christophorus Donnerhaak, May 13, 1701	Adam Andreae	57	-	20 / 14	0 / 23	35%

The total length of the entry by Menius is 124 words, which is over 70% longer than the average length of similar entries. There are 18 lines, so that each line comprises about seven words. The introductory (motto) part consists of three words, all written in Latin, showing no code-switching whatsoever. The content, on the other hand, comprises 98 words divided between 12 lines so that each has about eight words. The matrix of the content is German and incorporates six words as interpolations – four words in Latin and two in Italian. The last part contains 23 words divided between five lines so that each line has four words. Like the motto-part, this is also written exclusively in Latin showing no code-switching within it.

The length of the second entry is 57 words, which exceeds the average length of the entries by 32%. All the words are divided between 11 lines so that each line contains about five words. This entry does not include any introductory formulae nor allocutions, and therefore starts with the content part. The content part comprises 34 words and these are divided almost equally – 20 being written in German and 14 in Latin. Therefore, in the content part German is considered the matrix language and Latin the embedded language. It is written over four lines so that both languages comprise two lines each. The Latin part is shorter and comprises seven words per line, and the longer addition in German has ten words per line. The closing part, like the first entry, is rather formulaic comprising only Latin words, which here are similarly to Menius'

entry being 23 words divided between seven lines so that on each line there are about three words.

The closing parts of both entries are monolingual and so there is also no evidence of intrasentential (or any) code-switching within those parts, yet the code-switching that does occur is rather intersentential between the content and the closing part at the sentence level. The overall proportion of vernaculars in the first entry is rather high – 75%, while in the second one Latin is of prevalence and the equivalent proportion for the vernacular is 35%. This in turn indicates that in the first multilingual entry vernaculars are of prevalence and used as the matrix language and in the other the linguistic situation is just the opposite – Latin is the matrix language and the vernacular the embedded language (according to the entry as a whole).

6.3.3.2.1. Inter- and intrasentential code-switching and alternations as the main practices used in multilingual entries to *alba amicorum*

In order to show exactly how the code-switching occurs in the selected longer entries the introductory and closing parts will at first be analysed and then followed by a discussion of the code-switching in the content parts.

The entry written by Menius in 1633 consists of a three-word exclusively Latin introductory part that is his motto and can be considered the title of the subsequent poem. Within those words there is no language change whatsoever, but code-switching actually occurs between this clause and the following poem, which is written in the German matrix. Therefore, the switch from Latin to German takes place at the level of the sentences and is in turn intersentential:

*/.../ Difficile at possibile / Was dem gemeinen Man zue sein vnmöglich scheint,
/.../.*

The analogous practice occurs typically also in the multilingual occasional poems between the introductory and the content part (cf. Chapter 4, sub-chapter 4.3.1.4., and Chapter 5).

A similar practice of using intersentential code-switching appears between the content and closing part where the switch occurs between the last line of the German matrix in the content part and the Latin closing part:

*/.../ Obschon Hanß Plump ins Mueß es nicht begreifen kan. /VI. Calend.
Januarii /.../.*

The content part, on the other hand, contains five examples of intrasentential code-switching. All of the switches are in fact insertions on a scheme of A–B–A where A stands for the German matrix and B for either Italian or Latin, which are interpolated to the matrix language. The first switch from the German matrix to the Italian embedded language and then back to German matrix takes places in line three within the following sentence:

/.../ Was Pochen vndt Gewalt **per forza** lasset stehn, / Damit Kunst wie mit einer Braudt zue Bett thuet gehn. /.../.

Here the use of Italian might be explained by the metre. As there are 12 syllables in the line then using either a German or Latin equivalent might not have been suitable for this instance.

The following four switches contain Latin insertions and refer either to the proper names, mythological characters or places. Lines 5 and 7 each contain a single Latin interpolation, while line 9 comprises two:

/.../ 5 Solt' man **Opitij** Geist in Lieffland können bringen?
 Solt' man zue Tauris auch woll teutsche Lieder singen?
 Solt' wol **Mercurio** der Caspische Neptun
 Bis an den wilden Bält sonderlich Hülffe thuen?
 Solten die **Musae** wol **Parnassum** hie formieren /.../

In the first example, the proper name Opitz is written in the Latin singular genitive form as *Opitij*, which is congruent with the German word *Geist* referring in translation to the spirit of Opitz (Opitz's spirit). The exclusively German equivalent on this occasion would have been at least a syllable longer – *der Geist von Opitz* which would not fit to the metre, or as *Solt' man das Opitz' Geist* which resembles a colloquial rather than a literary form and is thus not appropriate for the poem. Subsequently, in lines 7 and 9 a congruent lexicalization is also used. First, Mercury's Latin equivalent *Mercurius* in singular dative case is used with the meaning 'to Mercury' (cf. the Germanized form *Neptun* at the end of the same verse). In the last line Muses has been used in plural nominative case as *Musae* instead of the German *Musen*. The noun is congruent with the plural article form *die* that requires a plural form. In the same line another word in Latin is used – *Parnassum* – in singular accusative case. This word is an object to the previous noun *Musae* and goes with the German verb *formieren* that in turn requires the accusative case (should Muses found a Parnassus).

In lines 5–7, due to metrical restriction again, the very first word is abbreviated so that the last syllable of it has been excluded – the form *Solt* with an apostrophe is used instead of *Solte*.

The fact that all of those switches in the content part are intrasentential, is rather interesting and exceptional when taking into account that this part is written in metres (alexandrines) in which (according to the occasional poems analysed in chapters 4–5) intrasentential code-switching does not normally occur due to the usage of either accented-syllabic or quantitative metres.

The second entry written by Christophorus Donnerhaak in 1701 does not include an introductory part, and therefore the following analysis starts with the closing part. Similar to Menius' entry, this entry is also exclusively monolingual in which the rather formulaic part written in Latin consists of the name of the author, place where it was written (i.e. in Pernau (*Pernoviae*)), and the date

when it was written (i.e. 13 May 1701). However, unlike the closing part of Menius' entry, Donnerhaak's entry also consists of a longer expanded signature. Besides his name and field of study (*Sacrosanctae theologiae studiosus*), the author also adds an allocution to the owner of the *album amicorum* that is full of laudatory adjectives in superlative form:

*/.../ Hisce Paucis / Nobilissimo D[omi]no Philothecario / Fautori suo aestu-
matissimo / memoriam sui perpetuam / obsignare voluit /.../.*

Here the addressee is referred to as *Philothecarius*, which is derived from the noun *philotheca* (friend's collections) and is used as a synonym of *album amicorum*, and so *philothecarius* is the owner of the album. It is used as a synonym of the more commonly used *possessor* (owner) (cf. Kaju 2011: 103).

Within the closing part there are no instances of language changes, thus the code-switching that does occur takes place between the last sentence of the content, in the German, and the closing part at the sentence level and is thus intersentential:

*/.../ Fügt sich ein Mädchen bey, so ist der dritte Freund. / Hisce Paucis Nobilis-
simo /.../.*

The content part of this multilingual entry is written in the form of a poem. All in all it consists of four lines, so that the first two are written in Latin and in elegiac distich and the following two in German alexandrines. The last German part is in fact a word-for-word translation of the first two lines. As the total number of German words exceeds the amount of Latin, German is considered the matrix language and Latin the embedded language. Code-switching that does occur within the poem is intersentential, and the switch itself can be considered as an alternation from one language to another – a practice also used in the translation of the inaugural speech from the AG period analysed in chapter 1, sub-chapter 1.3.4. As there is only one switch from Latin to German it can be considered an alternation on a scheme of A–B:

*/.../ Sors mea prima Deus, sors altera fidus amicus,
Tertia cum reliquis bella puella bonis.
Mein bestes Glück ist Gott, dem folgt wers treulich meint,
Fügt sich ein Mädchen bey, so ist der dritte Freund. /.../*

The lines in Latin that were rather widely used amongst students, were most probably different sayings or proverbs known from antiquity and medieval times, that over time enriched with different supplements. For instance, one of the examples that was later modified rather often, was genuinely *Spes mea prima Deus, spes altera Virgo Maria* (cf. *Ibidem* 255).²²⁷ Here in this poem, the

²²⁷ Similar sayings were also used rather widely in other students *alba amicorum* and elsewhere:
1) Caspar Laudismann, 1623, p. 385: <https://books.google.ee/books?id=mepLAAAcAAJ> &pg=

Latin word *sors* is used with the connotation of “fortune” or “fate”, that is translated to German as “luck” (*Glück*). And thus the equivalent in Latin *sors mea prima Deus* (my first fortune/fate is God) is translated into German as *Mein bestes Glück ist Gott* (My best luck is God), which is in accord with the Latin version with just some slight differences in connotation. Therefore, in this study the following German alexandrines are considered a translation.

The analysed multilingual entries in *alba amicorum* from the AG and AGC periods clearly indicate that writing either laudatory or dedicatory letter-like items allowed the authors to present their highly developed linguistic skills as well as their knowledge of contemporary literature. Despite the fact that in most poems code-switching is exclusively intersentential (as in Donnerhaak’s entry), Menius proved to be capable of adapting different codes to a single matrix, and therefore the text presents intrasentential code-switching within the content, and intersentential between the introductory and content, as well as between the content and the closing part. Donnerhaak, on the other hand, remained more traditional in terms of using code-switching within the entry – it occurred just twice as intersentential code-switching, once between the last line of the content and the closing part, and once within the content. Yet unlike Menius, Donnerhaak used an alternation and a word-for-word translation of the genuine Latin text into German – a practice used, but not regularly, within the academic data of the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*.

6.4. Conclusion

The chapter analysing the official and personal communications of the *Academia Dorpatensis* comprises a variety of either official as well as private letters and letter-like items, such as student scholarship applications and entries in *alba amicorum*. As all of the writings are handwritten, the usage of the matrix language and embedded language is different from most of the other genres (especially the printed texts) within the corpus of this thesis. The matrix language is mostly a vernacular and either Latin or some other vernaculars behave as the embedded language. One of the biggest similarities between those text-units is their visually distinguishable (almost exclusive) tripartite structure consisting of introductory, content and closing parts.

In terms of linguistic performance, these texts are among the most multifaceted of all occasional poems, comprising besides monolingual texts and the

PA385&lpq=PA385&dq=Sors+mea+prima+Deus,+sors+altera+fidus+amicus,&source=bl&ots=sY-Xch4gu4&sig=6t4e5jzRL-jWP6MaBdfdBf4i8xE&hl=et&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjAh-b8IMbVAhVGb5oKHRbOABwQ6AEIPzAF#v=onepage&q&f=false [accessed 30 August 2017] ; 2) A. M. Hildebrandt (1884). *Stammbuch-Blätter des norddeutschen Adels*, p. 149 etc.; 3) Lotte Kurras, Werner Taegert (eds), 2004. *Axel Oxenstiernas Album amicorum und seine eigenen Stammbuchträge: Reproduktion mit Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, pp. 122–123; 4) V. Helk (2001). *Stambogsskikken i det danske monarki...*, pp. 38–39, 80 (cf. Kaju 2011: 37).

most commonly used bilingual ones, also a number of tri- and quadrilingual texts. The most prone to using more than two languages within a text-unit were letters in which there were examples of tri- and quadrilingual switches, and entries in *alba amicorum* with examples of trilingualism, and in fact even with an example of a sextalingual entry.

In the texts of official and personal communication analysed here, the most common practice was using intrasentential code-switching, especially in the content parts of letters and scholarship applications, rarely in entries to *alba amicorum*. The majority of those switches are insertions and alternations. Yet, intersentential code-switching occurred mostly between different structural parts of the album entries, as well as occasionally in letters that comprise either longer introductory or closing parts. In addition, congruent lexicalization as well as using morphological borrowings were also practiced in the contents of the letters.

Formulaic language usage was also of prevalence in most of the text types occurring in the different parts of the writings.

SUMMARY:
Multilingual Practices in
the Early Modern *Academia Dorpatensis*
(1632–1710)

The present doctoral dissertation focuses on the study of the academic texts extant from within both periods (*Academia Gustaviana* 1632–1656, and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* 1690–1710) of the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* from the perspective of multilingual practices. So far, all contemporary studies in which some sub-genres of academic texts have been analysed (such as occasional poetry, dissertations, orations, sermons, student exercises etc.) only mention and list the languages that occurred, but lack information about the exact practices of how the languages were used within different texts and genres, and therefore exactly which languages the Academy used to govern itself and communicate.

In fact, there are hardly any explicit comments either on the required linguistic performance for the 17th century *Academia Dorpatensis* found in any of the extant documents of that time, except for the language of disputing that was supposed to be Latin (cf. Sak 1997). One of the very exceptional indications about the Academy's recommended linguistic performance was made by the minister of St. Olai church in Reval (Tallinn), Ludwig Dunte, in his linguistically critical inaugural sermon held already in 1632, suggesting that besides the learned languages (such as Latin, Greek, Hebrew) vernaculars (such as German, French, Italian, and English (sic!)) should be taught and used parallelly in the Academy (cf. Dunte 1632: 38–40). Therefore, according to Dunte, the presumption of using multilingual practices in the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* existed.

The present thesis is the first in which the exact linguistic performance on the basis of all of the different academic texts (manuscripts as well as imprints) has been analysed. The primary aim of the thesis was to collect all the extant academic data on the *Academia Dorpatensis* from different European libraries and archives. Thereafter, the second aim was to categorize all the existing texts, taking into account both the categorization of printed academic texts presented in Ene-Lille Jaanson's bibliography (2000: 38), as well as extra-linguistic and domain-specific parameters used in historical sociolinguistics, according to which the main basis for categorizing texts are their function and purpose (cf. Biber, Conrad, Reppen 1998; Kohnen 2001, 2012; Taavitsainen 2009, 2010). Altogether, the texts were divided into 28 smaller sub-groups, which in turn were also the basis for the thematic division of the thesis into six chapters – legislative, administrative, financial, instructional, representative texts as well as documents involved with the Academy's official and personal communication.

The collected corpus for the present thesis comprises 7,831 text-units, which are divided between the different chapters accordingly:

- (1) the corpora of legislative academic texts comprises 116 text-units (manuscripts and imprints), or just 1.5% of the whole corpus,
- (2) there are 1,334 administrative texts (17%),
- (3) financial documents represent one of the smallest sub-groups comprising 450 handwritten text-units, (6%),
- (4) the total number of instructional texts is 1,751 specimens (22.5%),
- (5) there were a considerable number of representative text-units – 1,135 (14%), and
- (6) the largest sub-group, which constitutes over one-third of the whole corpus of the present thesis, includes text-units related to the Academy's official as well as public communication with 3,035 text-units (39%).

In the present thesis, for every single text the term *text-unit* is used, which describes all the texts and their sub-parts that have self-contained meaning. The given specification makes it possible within the thesis corpus to consider even shorter single entries from the consistory protocols as well as different short payslips and confirmations of gaining scholarships.

The main objective of the present study was either to prove or rebute the idea of the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* as being Latin-centred; in other words, the idea that (a) the monolingual texts were mainly in Latin, and (b) in cases where at least two languages were used within a text-unit, Latin was supposed to be of prevalence and thus used as the matrix (i.e. frame) language, and all the other languages were used as embedded languages.

In order to prove the given hypothesis, besides analysing a number of source materials, incl. source publications, the methodology of many other disciplines had to be included, so that the present thesis is an interdisciplinary study. In fact, the main methods and results of four separate disciplines have been included to the present study: the history of universities, the history of Latin, Neo-Latin studies as well as historical sociolinguistics. Studies about the history of universities primarily provided historical background information about how the early modern universities (incl. *Academia Dorpatensis*) functioned, what kinds of texts were created and how the academic printed texts should be categorized (cf. Jaanson 2000: 38). The research field of the history of Latin provided the context for how and on which occasions the position of Latin changed and was used as a component of multilingualism in the early modern times. Neo-Latin studies, on the other hand, was an important addition to the thesis, in order to find out how Latin has been used and studied, including how the interaction between Latin and other languages took place in early modern societies. However, despite the great amount of handbooks and treatises published under each of the mentioned disciplines, none of them provided a sufficient methodology for how the multilingual texts should actually be studied. Therefore, the fourth discipline – historical sociolinguistics – was included, which in terms of terminology and methodology was the most important.

The most significant term under historical sociolinguistics used in the thesis is *multilingual practices* – a phenomenon that is often defined as the “*alternating use*

of at least two languages in historical writings” (cf. Nurmi, Tyrkkö, Petäjänie-mi, Pahta 2018: 171). It is a characteristic which makes it possible to consider a number of different text types and topics, written by different authors within a single study under the same denominator, and also to use a range of terminology. The most important terms used in the present thesis are *code-switching*, *intersentential code-switching*, *intrasentential code-switching*, *alternation*, *insertion*, *congruent lexicalization*, and less frequently the terms *morphological borrowings* and *cultural borrowings* are also used.

In order to study both the role of Latin and multilingual practices, all of the extant 17th century text-units related to the *Academia Dorpatensis* were divided into a number of thematical text groups. Within each text group the distinction between mono- and multilingual text-units was made and both were statistically analysed. Out of the multilingual text-units the most exemplary specimens were chosen that reflected the general linguistic performance supra sub-group, and were provided with a number of thorough case studies. Some examples were also provided with comparative case studies; for example, in the first chapter of the thesis J. Skytte’s resolution written in 1633 was analysed in comparison with four other royal resolutions. Altogether the present thesis comprises about 30 in-depth case studies, provided with a number of examples.

The analysis of all of the text types revealed a number of different practices used in both printed and handwritten academic texts, indicating that the linguistic performance of the 17th century academic texts cannot be considered as a linear development from the usage of Latin to multilingual texts, which then culminated in text-unitsexclusively written vernacular languages. On the contrary, all the practices occur throughout the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*, depending mostly on the text type and its function, author, addressee as well as the medium of transition (i.e. either printed or handwritten text).

Using multilingual practices seems to be the most characteristic linguistic performance in different spheres of the academe, according to the texts. Amongst all of the 28 sub-groups analysed in six chapters, half of the texts (i.e. 13, 46.5%) contain multilingual text-units:

1. Descriptions of *actus inauguralis* (2/2, 100% multilingual)
2. Sermons (3/3, 100%)
3. Cashbooks (46/47, i.e. 98%)
4. Analysis of trial balance (269/301, i.e. 89%)
5. Royal privileges (25/29, i.e. 86%)
6. Different receipts (27/33, i.e. 82%)
7. Cash orders (12/15, i.e. 80%)
8. Textbooks (10/13, i.e. 77%)
9. Regulations and degrees (54/83, i.e. 65%)
10. Official and personal correspondence (1676/2641, i.e. 63%)
11. Judicial documents (91/154, i.e. 59%)
12. Consistory protocols (601/1041, i.e. 58%)
13. Protocols from the Faculty of Philosophy (22/38, i.e. 58%)

In the following four text groups the proportion of multilingual texts varies between 14 and 35%:

14. Lists of professors' salaries and stipendiaries (15/43, i.e. 35% multilingual)
15. Entries in *alba amicorum* (48/221, i.e. 22%)
16. Dissertations, disputations, orations (120/648, i.e. 19%)
17. Official ordinances and patents (6/44, i.e. 14%)

As the majority of the text-units in which multilingual practices were of prevalence were manuscripts (11 out of 13), this indicates that handwritten texts were, in turn, more open to multilingual practices. However, there were also a number of printed examples (no. 1, 2, 8 as well as 16, 17) showing that despite the medium, more than one language was used within a printed text-unit. Since printed dissertations, disputations and orations represent a sub-group of imprints in which Latin is always the matrix language and a vernacular the embedded language, it is also the most common practice when imprints contain multilingual practices. Yet, the sub-group of official ordinances and patents, in which a vernacular is predominantly used as the matrix language and Latin as the embedded language, are also mostly imprints. As the total number of extant imprints within this sub-group is rather low, it is an indication of the transition from the practice of using a Latin-vernacular to a vernacular-Latin combination. This practice is extremely important as it occurred around the 1700s, when the Great Northern War began, and that, in turn, influenced the linguistic performance used in official ordinances to become more vernacular-centred.

The majority of all of the multilingual text-units are bilingual, some trilingual and all the other combinations with four and more languages are rather rare. Combinations of either LA+DE or LA+SE are predominantly used, especially in dissertations and disputations as well as in a number of occasional poems, in which all of the text-units with multilingual practices exclusively used Latin as the matrix language and either German or Swedish as the embedded language. Other possible bilingual combinations are: HBR+LA, GR+LA, NDE+LA, IS+LA, LA+EST, DE+SE, SE+DE, LA+FR, SE+FR, LA+FI, LA+PL. However, in manuscripts, the linguistic situation was just the opposite – a vernacular (either SE or DE) was used as the matrix language and Latin in most cases as the embedded language. Consistory protocols with all of their multilingual entries provide examples with the highest frequency of code-switching as well as presenting the Academy's everyday life and linguistic performance – during the AG period Latin and German, and during the AGC period LA and Swedish were mostly used.

All the other occasions in which three and more languages are mixed together are sporadic. Such combinations occur mostly in manuscripts (letters), and there, either Swedish or German is the matrix language and Latin and/or French (or some other vernacular) as interpolations. Occasional poems, however, also provide examples of trilingual text-units in which Latin, German and Estonian are put together.

Greek and Hebrew as learned languages are not usually mixed with vernaculars, but almost predominantly with some other learned languages. However, there is a single occasion amongst the representative occasional poems subgroup, which is the most multifaceted in terms of comprising besides bi- and trilingual poems, also an example of a sextalingual poem (*epithalamium*) in which Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Swedish and Latvian are all used together. The other example of a sextalingual poem was written as an entry in the *Album amicorum* of Adam Andreae, in which Latin, Spanish, French, Dutch, German and Swedish are used all within a poem. In both examples, learned languages are positioned before the vernacular (either Romance or Germanic) languages. Therefore, the linguistic change – the transition to vernaculars was from Latin and not once from the other learned languages (The other example of a sextalingual poem was written as an entry in the *album amicorum* of Adam Andreae, in which Latin, Spanish, French, Dutch, German and Swedish are used all within a poem).

The most often used multilingual practices in the multilingual academic text-units throughout the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* were inter- and intrasentential code-switching, alternations, insertions, congruent lexicalization and cultural borrowings. Multilingual occasional poems represent exclusively intersentential code-switching, while a number of dissertations and disputations, letters, scholarship applications, cashbooks, sermons, cash orders, textbooks etc, comprise intrasentential code-switching with examples of alternations and insertions as well. The most extreme example of an alternation is represented in the *relatio* of the inaugural ceremony of the Academy by Friedrich Menius in 1635, in which the official foundation charter of the Academy written in Latin in 1632 has been translated into German almost as a word-for-word translation, changing the original text from mono- to multilingual (with German as the matrix language and Latin as the embedded language). The other text group in which exact translations are used for alternation, is sermons. Amongst the other academic texts the usage of translations is not a common practice. Congruent lexicalization is a practice often used in a number of academic text-units in which code-switching is intrasentential (e.g. in letters, dissertations, scholarship applications, sermons etc.).

Yet, scholarship applications, sermons as well as some other prose genres also include cultural borrowings in which, for instance, a German verb ending has been added to the Latin word stem, but the meaning as well as paleography of the word is used as it was in Latin.

In the multilingual text-units, a number of supporting strategies were also used in order to indicate the transition from one language to another. Visual pragmatics was a common strategy that supported the use of multilingual practices, especially in printed text-units. The words in Latin (as well as in French) were printed in antiqua, and vernaculars (German, Swedish, Estonian) were printed in fracture. This makes it rather easy to distinguish the switches in a text-unit. This practice is also used in some manuscripts, but occasionally the

switches from the matrix language (ML) to the embedded language (EL) are not as easily recognisable.

The other supporting strategy indicating multilingual practices is the formulaic introductory phrases used before the switch to the vernacular text. They occurred almost exclusively in printed dissertations, disputations and orations, in which Latin was used as the matrix language and a vernacular (German, Swedish, or rarely Dutch, French or Estonian) as the embedded language. Before the switch to a vernacular, an introductory formula in Latin was inserted. In fact 52% of all of the switches to German and 41% to Swedish were provided using such formulae. In cases where the code-switching took place between Latin and some minority vernaculars (Estonian, Dutch, French), each switch was provided with the introductory formula. For example, such formulaic words or phrases were often used: *in sermone nostro, a nobis dicitur, vulgo, diciturque lingua Esthonica, Gallice* etc.

In addition to 17 sub-groups, in which multilingual text-units are represented, there are in fact 11 which comprise either exclusively or predominantly monolingual texts:

18. Foundation charter (1/1, i.e. 100% monolingual)
19. Constitutions (3/3, i.e. 100%)
20. *Matricula* (52/52, i.e. 100%)
21. Ceremonial orations (41/41, i.e. 100%)
22. Inaugural speech (1/1, i.e. 100%)
23. Catalogues of lectures (16/16, i.e. 100%)
24. Programs, invitations and proclamations (72/72, i.e. 100%)
25. Academic occasional poetry (1023/1035, i.e. 99%)
26. Students' style exercises (38/39, i.e. 97%)
27. Students' scholarship applications (177/183, i.e. 97%)
28. Representative occasional poetry (956/1016, i.e. 94%).

As the majority of these text groups – 7 out of 11 – comprise only monolingual text-units, and the remaining four have just a few multilingual texts amongst their corpus, this is clear evidence that there were some texts produced in the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* that remained monolingual throughout the period of 46 years. The majority of the monolingual texts belong either to the sub-group of the most important legislative, representative or instructional texts (regulating to teaching processes) and are thus important in terms of the legality and external representation of the Academy. The monolingual texts were mainly written in Latin, as in fact were all of the examples 18–24. However, German and Swedish were also used, especially in occasional poems. Swedish was more important during the AGC period from which there is in fact besides the exclusively Latin Constitution an additional copy (translation) in Swedish also extant, which was used in parallel with the original Latin one, and the need for translating it was due to the fact that the majority of the professors in the AGC period were of Swedish origin.

(High) German was used mostly in a great number of occasional poems throughout the Academy. During the period of the AG, the majority of the Consistory sessions were in fact held either in Latin or German (in most cases, however, the two languages were put together) reflecting the actual oral linguistic performance of the Academy. Low German, on the other hand, was used rather rarely and only as part of multilingual text-units; for example, in some poems as well as historical prose texts. Greek and Hebrew, on the other hand, as learned languages were also occasionally used in some poems.

The remaining vernaculars were rarely used in exclusively monolingual text-units, but on such occasions, either French, Italian, Estonian, Spanish, Polish or Russian were occasionally used. All of them can be considered secondary languages, which were used just in some text-units. The fact that there are hardly any text-units in which French is monolingually used (it is known predominantly as an embedded language in interpolations from trilingual letters and once in a multilingual receipt in which it was the matrix language) clearly indicates that even though French was an extremely popular modern language at the end of the 17th century in Europe, incl. in the Swedish court, it had not yet reached nor remarkably influenced the linguistic performance of the Swedish Academy in Dorpat.

The usage of Estonian was similarly extremely low. In fact there are three examples of utterly Estonian occasional poems as well as three in which it was used as the second or third language, some interpolations in a textbook, part of an entry in an *album amicorum*, as well as in a printed dissertation combined with the German word.

In the background to the multilingual practices and the usage of vernaculars in monolingual texts, Latin cannot be characterized as decisively declining in Dorpat at least until the turn of the 17/18th century. In the programmatic sermon from 1632, Dunte pointed out the need to study Latin besides a number of other learned languages, and different vernaculars at the Lutheran academy, due to the fact that the Latin used in the Catholic church was corrupted. Yet, not a single oration nor any other academic text dedicated to the importance of the Latin language was ever written in the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis*.

Important areas in which Latin had lost its dominant position and where only some formulaic phrases were still used in Latin, were the financial documents. In general they were multilingual. Also the text groups that reflect oral communication (e.g. sermons, Consistory protocols) were going through change during the 17th century. Third, in sub-groups in which a *Nähesprachligkeit* (i.e. a more personal communication) was intended (such as letters), the proportion of Latin was gradually retreating. In the other text types, the amount of Latin was still rather high and so no definitive signs of the decline of Latin could be seen.

From the 1690s and especially the mid-1690s, a more clear point of linguistic change from Latin to vernaculars can be fixed, as multilingual practices occurred in some text groups, which until then were written exclusively in Latin. Such key types include the constitutions, student scholarship applications, style exercises and textbooks. Yet the linguistic change from Latin to

vernaculars in the *Academia Dorpatensis* was not as remarkable as the linguistic change between the two accompanying vernaculars, German and Swedish. Accordingly, during the AG period Latin was predominantly used with German, and by the opening of the AGC the switch from German to Swedish had already occurred (here, the Consistory protocols can be considered key examples).

In the 17th century, throughout the AG and AGC period, the modern usage of formulaic Latin text fragments as part of multilingual texts has taken shape, resulting in the following phenomena:

- 1) A number of formulaic expressions in connection with the Academy and instruction were used.
- 2) Quotations taken either from the Bible or Classical literature, often provided with exact references, were used, for instance, as mottos either as a title of some poems or entries in *alba amicorum*, as well as on the title pages of printed dissertations, disputations, orations or sermons.
- 3) Oaths used in juridical texts.
- 4) In financial documents, which were predominantly written in a vernacular, some terms in Latin were used throughout the text-units, such as the Latin word *summa*.
- 5) Dates, especially used in handwritten letters, scholarship applications, entries in *alba amicorum* etc., were predominantly written in Latin. Besides some abbreviations, such as *a[nno]*, *d[ie]*, *m[anu]p[ro]pria* were also quite regularly used in manuscripts.
- 6) Different mottos were used, for instance, either as a title of some poems or entries in *alba amicorum*, as well as on the title pages of printed dissertations, disputations, orations or sermons.

In conclusion, the early modern *Academia Dorpatensis* was not exclusively Latin-centred in every academic sphere as has been assumed until now, but a number of other languages either for creating mono- or multilingual texts were also used. The practices of using more than one language within a text-unit depended predominantly on the medium (i.e. whether the text was an imprint or a manuscript), the objectives of the texts, who wrote it and to whom it was addressed. The use of Latin either as the embedded language from or with other languages was a rather common practice especially in imprints where it was a dominant language, while in manuscripts it was used predominantly as part of a multilingual text-unit.

SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN: Mitmekeelsuspraktikad varauusaegses Tartu ülikoolis (1632–1710)

Käesoleva doktoritöö teemaks on mitmekeelsuspraktikad kõigis varauusaegse Tartu ülikooli, nii selle *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656) kui ka *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* perioodi (1690–1710) säilinud tekstides. Kõigis nüüdisaegsetes uurimustes, milles on analüüsitud varauusaegse Tartu ülikooli tekste (nt. juhuluulet, dissertatsioonid, disputatsioonid, kõnesid, tudengite stiiliharjutusi jne), ainult mainitakse keeli, milles vastavad tekstid on kirjutatud, kuid ei analüüsita süstemaatiliselt seda, milliseid keeli kasutati ülikoolisiseses ja -välises asjaajamises, akadeemia juhtimises ning ka õppetöö läbiviimises tervikuna. Samuti puudub arusaam, millised olid eri keelte kasutamise viisid ühe või teise funktsiooniga tekstides ning kuidas olid eri keeled omavahel seotud.

Teisalt ei leidu ka varauusaegse Tartu ülikooli dokumentides, näiteks põhikirjas, mis otseselt akadeemia tegevust reguleeris, muid ettekirjutusi keelekasutusele akadeemia eri valdkondades, kui et disputeerimine peab toimuma ladina keeles (Sak 1997a).

Soovituslikumat laadi ettekirjutus 17. sajandi Tartu akadeemia keelekasutuse kohta pärineb Tallinna Oleviste kiriku pastor Ludwig Duntelt, kes juba 1632. aasta novembris, vaid umbes kaks nädalat pärast viibimist *Academia Gustaviana* pidulikul avatseremoonial, pidas Tallinnas inauguratsioonijutluse kristliku kiriku, koolide ja iseäranis ülikooli keeleoskuse olulisuse teemal, milles ta soovitas vastavalt Tartu ülikoolis lisaks klassikalistele keeltele (nagu ladina, vanakreeka ja heebrea) õpetada ja kasutada paralleelselt ka erinevaid rahvakeeli (nagu saksa, prantsuse, itaalia ja ka inglise keelt) (Dunte 1632: 38–40). Seega, eeldus mitmekeelsuspraktikate kasutamiseks oli varauusaegses Tartu ülikoolis vähemalt Dunte jutluse järgi olemas.

Antud doktoritöö kuulub alusuuringute valdkonda ja on esimene käsitus, mis kaardistab 17. sajandi Tartu ülikooli keelekasutuse kõigis akadeemiaga seotud säilinud tekstides, nii käsikirjalises kui ka trükimaterjalis. Töö esimeseks etapiks oli Euroopa raamatukogudest ja arhiividest kokku koguda kõik teadaolevad *Academia Gustaviana* ja *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* aegsed säilinud tekstid. Seejärel seati eesmärgiks leitud tekstid grupeerida lähtudes nii Ene-Lille Jaanson (2000: 38) bibliograafias esitatud trükiste liigitamise kategooriatest kui ka ajaloolises sotsiolingvistikas üldiselt kasutatud ekstralingvistilistest ja domeenispetsiifilistest parameetritest, mille järgi sai jaotuse põhialuseks tekstide funktsioon ja kirjutamise-koostamise eesmärk (vt. Biber, Conrad, Reppen 1998; Kohnen 2001, 2012, Taavitsainen 2009, 2010). Kokku moodustati 28 tekstigruppi, millest omakorda moodustus kuus suuremat temaatilist gruppi. Kogutud töökorpus koosnes 7831 tekstist, mis on jaotatud temaatilisteks peatükkideks:

(1) legislatiivsed tekstid (116),

(2) akadeemia juhtimisega seotud administratiivtekstid (1334),

- (3) finantsdokumendid (450),
- (4) õppe- ja teadustööga seotud tekstid (1751),
- (5) representatiivtekstid (1135) ja
- (6) akadeemia ametliku- ja erasuhtlusega seotud tekstid (3035).

Antud töös kasutatakse iga üksiku teksti kohta mõistet „tekstiüksus“, mis sobib kirjeldama kõiki tekste ja nende allosi, mis omavad iseseisvat tähendust. Antud täpsustus võimaldab käesoleva töö materjali loendisse lisada ka näiteks lühemad senati protokollide üksikkanded kui ka erinevad stipendiumi või palga kättesaamist kinnitavad paberilipikud.

Väitekirja olulisemaks eesmärgiks oli kas tõestada või ümber lükata levinud arusaam, et varauusaegne Tartu ülikool oli ladina keele keskne. Ladinakeelsuse hüpoteesi kehtivuse näitamiseks eeldati esiteks, et akadeemiast säilinud ükskeelsed tekstid on ülekaalukalt ladinakeelsed, ja teiseks, et neil juhtudel, mil ühe teksti piires kasutati koos vähemalt kahte erinevat keelt, oli ladina keel domineeriv keel (*frame/matrix language, main language*) ning rahvakeeled sekundaarsed, sisepõimitud keeled (*embedded language*).

Selleks et püstitatud hüpoteesi tõestada, tuli lisaks allikate, allikapublikatsioonide ning ülikooli ajaloo alaste uurimuste läbitöötamisele kaasata metoodikaid mitmest eri distsipliinist, mistõttu on käesolev töö interdistsiplinaarne. Antud doktoriväitekirja puhul on kaasatud teadmisi ja uurimistulemusi neljast eri distsipliinist – ülikoolide ajaloo, ladina keele ajaloo, uusladina uuringute ja ajaloolise sotsiolingvistika valdkonnast. Ülikoolide ajaloo alased uuringud pakkusid eeskätt ajaloolist tausta selle kohta, kuidas varauusaegsed ülikoolid, sh Tartu Ülikool, toimisid, millist liiki tekste neis loodi ning kuidas säilinud akadeemilist trükimaterjali tuleks kategoriseerida (Jaanson 2000: 38). Ladina keele ajaloo uuringud näitasid, kuidas ladina keele positsioon muutus nii varauusaegses ühiskonnas tervikuna kui ka ülikoolides. Uusladina uuringud oli vajalik kaasata selleks, et näha, kuidas ladina keelt on kasutatud ning uuritud, eeskätt ladina keele interaktsiooni teiste, st rahvakeeltega varauusaja kontekstis. Hoolimata arvukatest uuringutest ja käsiraamatutest, mis igas nimetatud valdkonnas on välja antud, ei pakkunud ükski neist kolmest rahuldavat metoodikat, kuidas tuleks mitmekeelseid tekste täpsemalt uurida. Seega kaasati neljas ja uurimis-metoodika ning terminoloogia mõttes kõige olulisem distsipliin – ajalooline sotsiolingvistika.

Antud distsipliini olulisim mõiste – „mitmekeelsuspraktikad“ (*multilingual practices*), st vähemalt kahe keele vahelduv kasutamine ühe ajaloolise teksti piires (vt. Nurmi, Tyrkkö, Petäjaniemi, Pahta 2018: 171) – võimaldab ühte uuringusse (siin: doktoritöösse) koondada arvukalt eri liiki tekste, mis on koostatud eri autori(te) poolt eri aegadel, ning kasutada laialdast terminoloogiat. Olulisemad mõisted, mida antud töös kasutatakse, on järgmised: koodivahetus (*code-switching*), lausesisene ja lausetevaheline koodivahetus (*intrasentential, intersentential code-switching*), kongruentne leksikalisatsioon (*congruent lexicalization*), alternatsioon (*alternation*), insertsioon (*insertion*) ja harvem morfoloogilised (*morphological borrowings*) ja kultuurilised laenud (*cultural*

borrowings). Peamiselt tugineti Soome koolkonna (P. Pahta, A. Nurmi, J. Skaffari jt) lähenemismetoodikale, mida on Tamperes, Turus jm rakendatud vanainglise keele tekstikorpuse uurimisel.

Ladina keele positsiooni ning mitmekeelsuspraktikate uurimiseks jaotati kõik olemasolevad 17. sajandi akadeemiaga seotud tekstiüksused temaatilisteks gruppideks ja vastavates peatükkides üks- ja mitmekeelseteks, ja tehti kõigi kohta deskriptiiv-kvalitatiivne statistiline analüüs. Mitmekeelsete tekstide seast valiti igas tekstide grupis välja kõige eksemplaarsemad tekstid, mis antud rühma siseseid mitmekeelsuspraktikaid kõige tüüpilisemalt demonstreerisid, ning esitati iga peatüki juurde vastava alaosa juures nende põhjal vähemalt kaks juhtumiuuringut (*case study*). Osa juhtumiuuringuid tehti suurema näitlikkuse eesmärgil võrdlevana. Näiteks esimeses peatükis analüüsiti J. Skytte 1633. aasta resolutsiooni nelja hilisema kuningliku resolutsiooni kontekstis. Kokku sisaldab käesolev doktoriväitekirjale ligemale 30 tekstiüksuse lähivaatlust, mida toetavad arvukad näited.

Eri tekstiliikide analüüs näitas, et nii trükistes kui ka käsikirjades kasutati kogu varauusaegse akadeemia tegutsemisajal kõrvuti erinevaid üks- ja mitmekeelsuspraktikaid, mistõttu ei saa 17. sajandi akadeemilistes tekstides rääkida keelevahetusprotsessist, üleminekust ühelt keelelt teisele ühesuunalise protsessina, mille tulemusel oleks ladinakeelsete tekstide asemel loodud kõigepealt mitmekeelseid ning hiljem pelgalt rahvakeelseid tekste. Kuna kõiki nimetatud praktikaid kasutati varauusaegse Tartu Ülikooli eri tekstides pidevalt, siis sõltus keelevalik eeskätt tekstitüübist ja -funktsioonist, autorist, adressaadist ja ka tekstimeediumist (st kas tegu oli käsikirjalise või trükitekstiga).

28 rühma tekstiüksuste analüüsist nähtus, et mitmekeelsuspraktikate kasutamine oli akadeemias väga levinud – peaaegu pooltes kõigist allrühmadest, st 13 (46,5%) domineerisid mitmekeelsed tekstid:

1. Inauguratsiooniaktuse kirjeldused (2/2, 100% mitmekeelseid)
2. Jutlused (3/3, 100% mitmekeelseid)
3. Kassaraamatud (46/47, i.e. 98% mitmekeelseid)
4. Käibeandmiku analüüsid (269/301, i.e. 89% mitmekeelseid)
5. Kuninglikud privileegid (25/29, i.e. 86% mitmekeelseid)
6. Arved (27/33, i.e. 82% mitmekeelseid)
7. Kassa sissetulekute- ja väljaminekute orderid (12/15, i.e. 80% mitmekeelseid)
8. Õpikud (10/13, i.e. 77% mitmekeelseid)
9. Regulatsioonid ja määrused (54/83, i.e. 65% mitmekeelseid)
10. Ametlik ja isiklik korrespondents (1676/2641, i.e. 63% mitmekeelseid)
11. Kohtudokumendid (91/154, i.e. 59% mitmekeelseid)
12. Senati protokollid (601/1041, i.e. 58% mitmekeelseid)
13. Filosoofiateaduskonna koosolekute protokollid (22/38, i.e. 58% mitmekeelseid).

Lisaks leidub neli tekstide rühma, milles mitmekeelsus on olnud ükskeelsete tekstide kõrval märkimisväärt alternatiivne praktika:

14. Professorite palga- ja tudengite stipendiuminimekirjad (15/43, i.e. 35% mitmekeelseid)
15. Reisiraamatute sissekanded (48/221, i.e. 22% mitmekeelseid)
16. Dissertatsioonid, disputatsioonid ja oratsioonid (120/648, i.e. 19% mitmekeelseid)
17. Ametlikud korraldused ja patendid (6/44, i.e. 14% mitmekeelseid)

Enamik tekstirühmi, milles esines mitmekeelsuspraktikaid, olid käsikirjalised (11 rühma 13st), nii et antud loetelu põhjal olid käsikirjad võrreldes trükistega enam avatud mitmekeelsuspraktikaile. Küll aga sisaldasid ka mõned trükitekstid (tekstigrupid nr. 1, 2, 8 ja ka 16, 17) hoolimata nende meediumist näiteid mitme keele kooskasutamisest. Suurem osa trükiseid olid dissertatsioonid, disputatsioonid ja oratsioonid, milles eranditult alati kasutati ladina keelt raamkeelena (*matrix language*) ja rahvakeeli sissepõimitud keeltena (*embedded language*), ning analoogset praktikat kasutati ka teistes trükitekstides. Ainus trükisetüüp, milles keelte vahekord oli dissertatsioonidele vastupidine, st rahvakeelt kasutati raamkeelena, ladina keelt aga sissepõimitud keelena, olid ametlikud korraldused ja patendid (tekstirühm nr 17). Kuigi antud tekstirühmas on trükitekste vähe, on neist enamus pärit 17/18. sajandi vahetuse Põhjasõja puhkemise ajast, andes märku, et mitmekeelsetes trükistes varem prevaleerinud keelepraktika – ladina-vernakulaarkeel²²⁸ – jõudis selleks ajaks vastupidise praktikani, et rahvakeel muutus raamkeeleks ning ladina keelest sai sissepõimitud keel.

Valdav osa kõigist mitmekeelsetest tekstidest olid kakskeelsed, sisaldades peamiselt ladina-saksa või ladina-rootsi keele kombinatsioone, mis olid levinud just akadeemilistes trükitekstides ja ka juhuluuletustes, milles ladina keel oli enamasti raamkeeleks ja rahvakeelt kasutati sissepõimitud keelena. Käsikirjades oli keelekasutus vastupidine – üht rahvakeelt kasutati raamkeelena ja ladina või mõnda teist rahvakeelt sissepõimitud keelena. Lisaks mainituile esines eri tekstides järgmisi kakskeelseid kombinatsioone, milles antud keelte esinemisjärjekord võis olla ka vastupidine: heebrea-ladina, kreeka-ladina, alamsaksa-ladina, islandi-ladina, ladina-eesti, saksa-rootsi, ladina-prantsuse, rootsi-prantsuse, ladina-soome, ladina-poola.

Kakskeelsete tekstide hulka kuulub ka kõige sagedasema keelevahetusega tekstigrupp ehk senati protokollid, mis näitavad akadeemia juhtkonna ja professorite keelekasutust igapäeva asjaajamises. *Academia Gustaviana* perioodil kasutati senatis toimuva kirjanemiseks paralleelselt ladina ja saksa keelt ning *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* ajal ladina ja rootsi keelt.

Ülejäänud juhud, mil ühe teksti piires on kasutatud vähemalt kolme eri keelt, on pigem harvad ja nende esinemus sporaadiline. Kolmkeelseid tekste esineb käsikirjaliste tekstide, nt kirjade hulgas, kus kas saksa või rootsi raamkeelde on põimitud ladina ja prantsuse keelt. Juhuluuletuste hulgas on näiteid, kus kolmkeelses luuletuses on kasutatud nii ladina, saksa kui ka eesti keelt. Lisaks

²²⁸ Siin ja edaspidi, kui koos kasutatakse vähemalt kahte erinevat keelt, siis esimesena lisatud keel märgib alati raamkeelt (*matrix language*) ja kõik järgnevad aga sissepõimitud keelt (*embedded language*).

kaks- ja kolmekeelsetele tekstidele, on *Academia Gustaviana* perioodil kirjutatud ka üks kuuskeelne pulmaluuletus (*epithalamium*), milles on paralleelselt kasutatud heebrea, kreeka, ladina, saksa, rootsi ja läti keelt. Teine näide kuuskeelsest luuletusest pärineb *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* perioodist ning on kirjutatud Adam Andreae reisialbumi sissekandena ühe tervikluuletusena, kus omavahel on põimitud ladina, hispaania, prantsuse, hollandi, saksa ja rootsi keel.

Teised klassikalised keeled, nt vanakreeka ja heebrea keel, ei esinenud Tartu akadeemias kordagi koos rahvakeeltega, ilma et selles kombinatsioonis ei esineks ka ladina keel. Näiteks juhuluuletuste puhul on klassikalistes keeltes tekstiosad alati esindatud enne rahvakeeli, mistõttu keelevahetus ei saagi toimuda otse heebrea või kreeka keelelt rahvakeelele, vaid eeldas alati ladina keele vahendust. Ühtlasi tähendab see, et vanakreeka ega heebrea keelel ei olnud olulist rolli 17. sajandi Tartu akadeemias toimunud keelevahetusprotsessis.

Mitmekeelsuspraktikatest kasutati varauusaegse akadeemia tekstides läbivalt lausesisest ja lausetevahelist koodivahetust, alternatsioone, insertsioone, kongruentset leksikalisatsiooni, morfoloogilisi laene ning kultuurilaene.

Kui mitmekeelsetes juhuluuletustes esines üksnes lausetevahelist koodivahetust, siis kõik ülejäänud tekstigrupid sisaldasid ülekaalukalt lausesisest koodivahetust ühes arvukate alternatsiooni ja insertsiooni näidetega.

Mahult kõige äärmuslikum, st kogu teksti alternatsiooni näide leidub akadeemia esimese ajaloo- ja muinsuste professori Friedrich Meniuse 1635. a. välja antud akadeemia inauguratsioonitseremoonia kirjelduses, mille tarbeks kohandas Menius akadeemia algupäraselt ükskeelse asutamisüriku (1632) tervikuna mitmekeelseks, tõlkides ladinakeelse teksti peaaegu sõna-sõnalt saksa keelde. Mitmekeelse teksti loomisel on Menius saksakeelsesesse raamteksti sisse jättnud arvukalt ladinakeelseid sõnu ja fraase. Teine tekstirühm, milles sõnasõnalisi tõlkeid on alternatsioonidena kasutatud, on jutlused. Varauusaegse Tartu akadeemia ülejäänud tekstides ei ole tõlkeid ei suunal ükskeelsest mitmekeelseks, mitmekeelsest ükskeelseks ega ka üksikkeelte vahel levinud praktika. Ainuke näide üksikkeelte vahelisest praktikast pärineb 1690. aastatest, mil tõlgiti *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* ladinakeelne põhikiri rootsi keelte, kasutades seejuures sarnast praktikat, mida ligemale 60 aastat varem F. Menius akadeemia avatseremoonia kirjelduse kohta kasutas, välja arvatud asjaolu, et rootsikeelset tõlget ei muudetud antud juhul mitmekeelseks.

Kuna lausesisese koodivahetuse hulk ületas tunduvalt lausetevaheliste koodivahetuste hulka, esineb väga paljudes proosavormis tekste sisaldavates tekstirühmades kongruentset leksikalisatsiooni (nt. kirjades, dissertatsioonides, stipendiumitaotlustes, jutlustes jne).

Stipendiumitaotlused, jutlused jpt proosažanrid sisaldavad ka näiteid kultuurilaenudest, kus ladinakeelsele sõnatüvele on liidetud nt. saksa keelest pärit tuletusliide või verbi pöördelõpp, kuid sõna tähenduse ja ka paleograafia poolest kasutatakse seda siiski kui ladina- ja mitte saksakeelset sõna.

Lisaks otsestele keelevahetuspraktikatele on paljudes mitmekeelsetes tekstides kasutatud erinevaid keelevahetust toetavaid strateegiaid, mis aitavad

keelevahetuse kohti ära tunda. Visuaalne pragmaatika on üks levinumaid strateegiaid, mida kasutatakse andmaks märku mitmekeelsuspraktikatest. Nimelt trükiti ladina- ja prantsuskeelsed sõnad antiikva kirjatüübis ning enamik teisi rahvakeeli (nagu saksa, rootsi, eesti) aga gooti kirjas. Analooget praktikat püüti jäljendada ka paljudes käsikirjades, kuid šriftivahetust ja seega ka üleminekuid raamkeelelt sissepõimitud keel(t)ele on käsikirjades sageli siiski tunduvalt raskem märgata.

Teine levinud strateegia, mida mitmekeelsetele tekstikohtadele viitamiseks kasutati, olid teiskeelset vahelepõimingut sissejuhatavad ühe- või mitmesõnalised vormellikud väljendid. Seda praktikat kasutati peaaegu eranditult üksnes trükitud dissertatsioonides, disputatsioonides ja oratsioonides, kus ladina keel oli raamkeeleks ning üleminek toimus rahvakeelsetele, nt saksa- ja rootsi-, harvem hollandi-, prantsuse- või eestikeelsetele tekstiosadele. Enne kui rahvakeelne tekstiosa põhiteksti lisati, varustati see ladinakeelse vormeliga. Kõigist saksakeelseist põiminguist on iga teine ehk 52% ja rootsikeelseist 42% varustatud keelevahetust sissejuhatavate tekstiosadega. Kui koodivahetus toimus ladina ja mõne vähem kasutatud rahvakeele vahel (nt eesti, hollandi või prantsuse), siis oli eranditult iga põiming varustatud sissejuhatava vormeliga. Tüüpilisemad kõigist sissejuhatavatest sõnadest ja väljenditest olid järgmised: *in sermone nostro* („meie keeles“), *a nobis dicitur* („meie nimetame“), *vulgo* („rahvakeelselt“), *diciturque lingua Esthonica* („ja eesti keeles nimetatakse“) jne.

Lisaks eespool välja toodud 17 tekstirühmale, kus mitmekeelsed tekstid olid ülekaalus või mahult arvestatavaks tekstirühmaks, leidub varauusaegse akadeemia materjali hulgas ka 11 allrühma, mis on kas täielikult või peaaegu eranditult ükskeelsed:

18. Asutamisürik (1/1, i.e. 100% ükskeelseid)
19. Põhikirjad (3/3, i.e. 100% ükskeelseid)
20. Matrikkel (52/52, i.e. 100% ükskeelseid)
21. Tähtpäevakõned (41/41, i.e. 100% ükskeelseid)
22. Inauguratsioonikõne (1/1, i.e. 100% ükskeelseid)
23. Loengukataloogid (16/16, i.e. 100% ükskeelseid)
24. Programmid, kutsed, avalikud teadaanded (72/72, i.e. 100% ükskeelseid)
25. Akadeemilise õppetöö ja sündmustega seotud juhuluule (1023/1035, i.e. 99% ükskeelseid)
26. Tudengite stiiliharjutused (38/39, i.e. 97% ükskeelseid)
27. Tudengite stipendiumitaotlused (177/183, i.e. 97% ükskeelseid)
28. Representatiivne juhuluule (956/1016, i.e. 94% ükskeelseid).

Asjaolu, et enamik antud tekstirühmadest koosnevad eranditult vaid ükskeelsest tekstidest (7 rühma 11st) ning ülejäänud neli sisaldavad vaid mõnda üksikut mitmekeelset teksti, on kinnituseks, et 17. sajandi tekstirühmade seas oli neid, mis jäid läbivalt kogu *Academia Dorpatensis*’e perioodi ajaks ükskeelseks. Valdav osa kõigist ükskeelsetest tekstidest kuuluvad akadeemia kõige olulisemate legislatiivsete, representatiivsete ja õppetööga seonduvate tekstide all-

rühmadesse, olles olulisteks õiguslikeks ja akadeemiavälise suhtlusega seonduvaks tekstideks. Suurem osa kõigist ükskeelseist tekstidest (nr 18–24) olid ladinakeelsed, saksa ja rootsi keelt küll kasutati, kuid peamiselt erinevates ükskeelsetes juhuluuletustes.

Rootsi keel oli olulisem akadeemia teisel tegevusperioodil, mida tõendab ka sel perioodil ladinakeelsest põhikirjast tehtud ükskeelne tõlge rootsi keelde. Olgugi et rootsikeelset põhikirja kasutati paralleelselt ladinakeelsega, tingis tõlkimise ilmselt asjaolu, et suurem osa kõigist AGC perioodi professoritest ja väga paljud üliõpilased olid rootsi päritolu.

Ülemsaksa keelt kasutati suuremas osas ükskeelsetes juhuluuletustes. Akadeemia esimesel tegutsemisperioodil Tartus peeti senati koosolekuid eeskätt ladina ja saksa keeles, mida tõendavad arvukad mitmekeelsed saksa keele kasutusega kanded senati protokollides. Saksa ja ladina keele vahelduv koosesimine senati protokollides peegeldab akadeemia toonast tegelikku keelekasutust. Alamsaksa keelt kasutati märkimisväärselt vähem, üksnes mõne mitmekeelse teksti koosseisus, nagu juhuluuletustes või pikemates ajaloolise proosa tekstides.

Ülejäänud rahvakeeli – prantsuse, eesti, itaalia, hispaania, poola, vene – kasutati eeskätt sekundaarkeeltena, mistõttu esines neid ükskeelsetes tekstides äärmiselt vähe, pigem kasutati neid ühes ladina või mõne teise rahvakeelega.

Asjaolu, et üleni prantsuskeelseid tekste peaaegu ei esinegi ja mitmekeelsetest dokumentidest leidub seda sissepõimitud keelena mõnes kolmkeelses kirjas ning raamkeelena ühes mitmekeelses arves raamkeelena, näitab selgesti, et vaatamata tõigale, et mujal Euroopas ja iseäranis Rootsis oli 17. sajandi lõpuks prantsuse keel muutunud äärmiselt populaarseks moekeeleks, siis vara-uusaegses Rootsi kuninga rajatud akadeemias prantsuse keele siinset keelekasutust ei mõjutanud.

Eesti keele kasutus oli sarnaselt prantsuse keelega väga harv. Ühtekokku on teada kolm üleni eestikeelset juhuluuletust ja niisamuti kolm näidet, milles eesti keelt on kasutatud ühe keelena kolmkeelses luuletuses. Lisaks saab eesti keele kasutust täheldada ühes õpikus, osana reisialbumi sissekandest ning kombineerituna saksakeelse sõnaosaga ühes trükitud dissertatsioonis.

Nii mitmekeelsuspraktikate kui ka rahvakeelte kasutuse taustal ükskeelsetes tekstides saab väita, et ladina keel ei hakanud akadeemilisest sfäärist märkimisväärselt taanduma enne 17./18. sajandi vahetust. Juba 1632. a. peetud programmilises jutluses osundas L. Dunte vajadusele õppida luterlikus akadeemias lisaks ladina keelele veel teisigi õpetatud ja rahvakeeli eeskätt juba seetõttu, et ladina keel oli katoliku kirikus kasutamise tõttu rikutud. Samas ei ole terve Tartu akadeemia avasajandi jooksul peale Dunte jutluse mitte ühtegi kõnet ega muud akadeemilist teksti kirjutatud ladina keele olulisuse rõhutamiseks.

Ainuke Tartu akadeemias esindatud tekstirühm, kus ladina keel oli kaotanud 17. sajandiks domineeriva rolli ning säilinud üksnes mõne vormelliku sõna või väljendina, olid finantsdokumendid, mis suuremas osas olid juba mitmekeelsed.

Teiseks olid ladina keele taandumisele väga avatud need tekstid, mis peegeldasid vahetut suulist kõnekasutust, st eeskätt jutlused ja senati protokollid. Kolmandaks olid ladina keele kadumisele avatud ka need tekstid, milles peegel-

dus isiklikuma sisuga dialoogiline keelekontakt, nagu nt kirjades. Ülejäänud tekstirühmades jäi ladina keel endiselt valdavaks, mistõttu ei saa antud tekstirühmade põhjal väita, et ladina keel oleks akadeemia lõpuperioodiks taandunud ning asendunud rahvakeeltega.

Siiski võib 1690. aastaid ja iseäranis 1690. aastate keskpaika pidada keelemuutuse seisukohast märgiliseks, mil osas seniajani eranditult ladinakeelsetes tekstirühmades kerkis esile mitmekeelsuspraktikate kasutamine. Sellisteks võtmežanriteks võib pidada akadeemia põhikirju, tudengite stipendiumitaotlusi ja stiiliharjutusi ning õpikuid. Samas ei olnud keelevahetus üleminekul ladina keelelt rahvakeelele sedavõrd märkimisväärne kui samaaegne üleminek ühelt rahvakeelelt teisele. Nimelt kasutati *Academia Gustaviana* perioodil ladina keele kõrval akadeemia asjaajamisekeelena peamiselt saksa keelt, ent 1690. aastaks, mil akadeemia Tartus taasavati, oli rahvakeelte seas üleminek saksa keelelt rootsi keelele juba toimunud (siin saab võtmežanriks pidada senati protokolle, mis *Academia Gustaviana* perioodil olid eranditult ladina-saksa-keelsed, kuid *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* perioodil juba ladina-rootsikeelsed).

Just 17. sajandi akadeemia mitmekeelsetes tekstides kujunesid muuhulgas välja ka valdkonnad ja viisid, kuidas ladina keele väljendeid ja sõnu kasutati hilisematel sajanditel muukeelsetes tekstides vormellike lisandustena. Käesolevas töös õnnestus kaardistada järgmised tüübid:

- 1) vormellikud akadeemia ja õppetöö sõnavaraga seonduvad väljendid;
- 2) piibli- ja kaasaegse kirjanduse tsitaadid varustatuna täpsete teksti- ja allika-viidetega, nagu nt erinevad tsitaadid ja motod trükiste tiitellehtedel, luuletustes või reisialbumite sissekannetes;
- 3) vandetekstidena, eeskätt juriidilistes tekstides;
- 4) finantsdokumentides kinnisväljenditena, nagu *summa*;
- 5) kuupäeva ja teksti autorsuse märkimisel, eeskätt erinevates lühendites: *a[nno]*, *d[ie]*, *m[anu]p[ropria]*.

Kokkuvõtteks võib analüüsitud materjali varal öelda, et varauusaegne Tartu akadeemia ei olnud kõigis oma toimimisvaldkondades ladina keele keskne, nagu on seni eeldatud, vaid et keskseks keeleliseks praktikaks oli mitmekeelsus, mis avaldus ladina keele samaaegses kasutamises koos rahvakeeltega, harvem koos teiste õpetatud keeltega. Üldine praktika kasutada ühes tekstis rohkem kui ühte keelt sõltus eeskätt teksti edastamise meediumist (käsikiri vs trükis), teksti eesmärkidest, autorist ja adressaadist. Trükiste puhul oli mitmekeelsetes tekstides raamkeeleks ladina keel, samas kui käsikirjades oli ladina keelel pigem sissepõimitud keele roll. Ladina keele kasutus ükskeelsena säilis varauusaegses ülikoolis peamiselt trükistes.

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Johan Runius' (1679–1713) *Petitorium* as an example of scholarship applications – <http://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/RuniusJ/titlar/SamladeSkrifter2/sida/20/faksimil>; <http://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/RuniusJ/titlar/SamladeSkrifter2/sida/23/faksimil>; <http://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/RuniusJ/titlar/SamladeSkrifter4/sida/148/faksimil>

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Regulation by John Skytte, 1633 (RA, Livonica 2, vol. 446)
2. A multilingual entry in the Consistory protocol from 25 June 1638 (MRBD, Fond 7, vol 7).
3. An ordinance by Eric Dahlbergh, 1698, third page (RA, Livonica II, vol. 462)
4. Cashbook of 1645–1646 (MRBD Fond 7, vol. 61).
5. Summary receipt from the end of the AGCP period (RA, Livonica II, vol. 472)
6. A gratulation poem by Rudolphus Strauch from 1639 (R. Acad. Dorp. 1639: 13)
7. Multilingual style exercise by Adolfus Florianus Sigismundi and Franciscus Henricus Londicer from 1707 (MRBD, Fond 7, vol. 35, no. 48)
8. The title page of Sueno Tiliander's grammar book from 1699 (MRBD, R Est-A-5067).
9. An exemplary page (p. 65) of the content in the grammar book (MRBD, R Est-A-5067).
10. An example of formulaic introductory phrases before Swedish interpolation from 1646 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1646:10)
11. Introductory formulaic phrases for Swedish interpolations, 1699 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1699:24)
12. An example of using Estonian in an oration from 1637 (MRBD, R Est.A-5074/12)
13. An example of Latin introductory formula for Swedish and German interpolations, 1651 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1651:13)
14. An example of the usage of vernacular terminology in a dissertation by Jacobus Friedenrich, 1639 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1639: 25)
15. An example of a vernacular written proverb in an oration by Petrus Langius in 1637 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1637:14)
16. An example of a Swedish poem written on the title-page of a disputation from 1654 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1654:22)
17. An example of the use of a Dutch interpolation in a dissertation by Daniel Oeslovius, 1653 (MRBD. R Acad. Dorp. 1653:11)
18. An example of a trilingual vernacular interpolation in a medical dissertation by Laurentius Braun from 1709 (MRBD, R Acad. Dorp. 1709:19)
19. The title page of Ludwig Dunte's inaugural sermon from 1 November 1632 (ÜAM 197:105)
20. Multilingual practices in the *Christliche Academien Predigt* by Ludwig Dunte from 1632, p. 39 (ÜAM 197:105)
21. *Epithalamium* by Olaus Georgii Salenius to Johannes Georgii Gezelius and Gertrud Gutheim from 1643 (R Acad. Dorp. 1643:9)
22. A monolingual scholarship application in elegiac distics by Henricus Meurch (Heinrich Mörk) from 1695 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)
23. A judicial letter by Johannes Eri Stiernstråle (Stregnensis), 1655 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 451)
24. A mandatory letter from the Academy's Consistory to Abraham Chemnitz, 1692 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 456)
25. First page of the multilingual scholarship application by Petrus Wilhelm Räschau, 1693 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)
26. Verso of the multilingual scholarship application by Petrus Wilhelm Räschau, 1693 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)

27. First page of the multilingual scholarship application by Elias Swedmarck, 1696 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)
28. Verso of the multilingual scholarship application by Elias Swedmarck, 1696 (RA, Livonica II, vol. 471)
29. Friedrich Menius' multilingual entry in Adam Olearius' *album amicorum* from 1633 (EAA.5383.1.24)
30. Christophorus Donnerhaak's bilingual entry from 1701 in Adam Andreae's *album amicorum* (EAA.1394.1.99)

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